

# CHAPTER 30

# INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

GLOBAL AGE CURRENT AFFAIRS

Traditionally, the concept of international security had been equated with the use of force between nations, with a particular focus on great power warfare. The international security involved the territorial integrity of nations, the greatest threats to which were posed by wars between states, and particularly between great powers. This implies that during Cold War, the threats to world peace emanated from the nation states. The centers of powers were the sovereign states and their propensity to settle disputes using force was the single cause of concern. However, following the end of cold war in 1990, this description became increasingly questioned in terms of who should be secured, the nature of international threats, and the type of responses necessary to manage such threats. The end of the Cold War in the late 1980's produced a wave of optimism throughout most of the Western world. Despite the fierce regional conflicts in 1990's, that optimism seemed to endure in the worldwide public consciousness. It appeared that world would see the worldwide growth of democracy and free trade that would ensure peace and prosperity for all. However, the optimism gave way to pessimism in light of threats in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There were many to predict that the 21<sup>st</sup> century threats would be far more dangerous than that of the previous century. One such prediction came from **Robert D. Kaplan**, in his "**The Coming Anarchy**". He pointed to grim realities of the post-Cold War World: "**Disease, overpopulation, unprovoked crime, scarcity of resources, refugee migrations, the increasing erosion of nation-states and international borders, and the empowerment of private armies, security firms, and international drug cartels.**" Moreover, the other serious threats to international security defining the contours of the 21<sup>st</sup> century are: **terrorism, climate change, nuclear proliferation and cyber security.**

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## FUTURE THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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The widely shared objectives of peace, prosperity, and participation have been threatened for centuries by the military conflict between states brought about by competing ideologies and interests. The world now faces additional threats—nuclear proliferation, terrorism, cyber-attacks and global warming—that have different characteristics from classic military conflict between states, and create an entirely new security environment. The monopoly of military force that make nation states the dominant force in conventional war is eroded by the new threats that empower subnational groups and make national boundaries less relevant.

Political leaders must act to reduce these threats and adopt concrete measures that will reduce the risks and consequences of violence. The traditional instruments of deterrence—intelligence, diplomacy, defense, and intervention must be adapted for each of these threats. There are some linkages between these threats: organized terrorist groups are interested in acquiring nuclear materials or devices and developing cyber capability to use against enemy states. But the role of international organization and the attitude of involved nations is more material in determining how the instruments of deterrence are best deployed.

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## TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM: RISE OF ISIS AND AL-QAEDA

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Presently, the most serious threat the world faces today is terrorism. It has become a nightmare for the government and people. This threat probably receives more attention from the public and political leaders because of prominence of the September 11, 2001 attacks allegedly by Al Qaeda on the United States. Moreover, the longtime hold of large chunks of territory by ISIS in oil rich Middle East (though it has lost the territory now) and a number of other acts of violence by Islamic militant groups like Boko Haram Al-Shebab show that terrorism threat is the most serious. Moreover, what makes this threat more serious is considerable confusion about the nature of the terrorist threat. This confusion leads to faulty policies, misallocation of resources, and not striking a proper balance between individual privacy and community security. There is confusion about whether terrorism is a law enforcement or national security matter, whether terrorism is an inevitable byproduct of Islamic religious fundamentalism, whether the terrorist threat would be greatly reduced if there an Arab-Israel peace settlement. Often the characterization does not adequately distinguish between the massive political, economic, and cultural differences that exist in the Islamic world.

ISIS claimed a number of recent attacks around the world. It claimed responsibility of the Zilten truck bombing in Libya, Homs bombings in Syria, Brussels bombings of Belgium, killing scores of people. The series of lethal brutality continued throughout 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019. In Baghdad bombings of July 2016, 325 precious lives were lost and more than 225 people were injured. In July 2018, Siraj Raisani was killed in his own election rally when a suicide bomber blew himself up, killing 149 and wounding 186. In the same month a polling station in Quetta was the target of a suicide bombing, claiming the lives of 31 souls and injuring atleast 40. Sri Lanka in 2019 faced the most deadly spate of suicide bombings in its history; 6 suicide bombs killed more than 350 and injured more than 500. This is a measure of how much ISIS has its roots deep entrenched in the world and is able to perpetuate attacks. This is the reason why transnational terrorism is so hard to put down. Undeniably, this is the most serious of the international security challenges nations face today.

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## NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

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Spread of Nuclear weapons or nuclear material is another security challenge. The victory of Donald Trump as the US President has raised the alarm bells in many cases—the foremost being that of the Nuclear Proliferation. He was of the view that Japan and South-Korea could have their own nuclear programs to main deterrence against North-Korea. This would be a major blow to Obama's **agenda** and Global Zero movements aimed at achieving the world free of nuclear weapons. Such view from a leader of the US could further nuclearize the world.

The world has been dealing with nuclear proliferation for many decades and many effective international mechanisms are in place. The International Atomic Energy Agency plays an important role in controlling the spread of nuclear materials and sensitive technology. International treaties are in place, such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty or under consideration, such as the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to slow the spread of nuclear weapons to non-weapon states. Considerable attention is being placed on effective custody of materials, device, and technology in weapon-states to preclude the possibility of diversion to non-state actors. Ultimately, success here depends on understanding the security concerns of those state that seek to acquire or retain possession of nuclear weapons—North Korea, Iran, India, Pakistan, Israel. Meeting these security concerns, rather than international treaties, are the way to solve this problem.

In May 2018, Trump pulled the US out of Iran Nuclear deal. Many critics warned that he risked setting off a chain of events that could lead to war. If the deal collapsed, Iran would resume its nuclear enrichment program. If Iran gets nuclear weapons, Gulf States will also pursue its own program. This will result in proliferation of nuclear weapons. On Oct. 20, 2018, President Donald Trump announced his intention to “terminate” the INF Treaty, citing Russian noncompliance and concerns about China’s intermediate-range missile arsenal. That’s really a cause for concern.

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## CYBER SECURITY

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The revolution in science and of late, in information technology has also created avenues of vulnerabilities in the fields of **cyber security**. Cyber-attacks whether mounted covertly by states or by terrorist groups present one of the greatest challenges. First, the techniques of cyber warfare are rapidly evolving. The cost of protecting information infrastructures is much higher than the cost of an information attack that disrupts critical information or communications in a country or within an organization. In a sense, cyber-attacks are the perfect weapons. When properly controlled and directed they can destroy the proper function of civil and military entities imposing tremendous economic and security cost without directly harming innocent bystanders. Since cyber technology is easily accessible and does not require an extensive infrastructure, the implication is that groups that have the intention to harm will increasingly make use of cyber-attacks.. Imagine if perpetrators hack into the Global Missile Defense System of the USA and indiscriminately start launching missiles; there would be untold damage and countless lives lost. 2019 has been a year which has seen a number of notable incidences of cyber-attacks; about 1.34 billion records have been leaked globally in a month. The most prominent of these was the exposure of Facebook’s illegal data mining from its users.

These attacks are difficult to trace and the fact that cyber-attacks do not directly kill people restricts the range of retaliatory actions that can reasonably considered. Generally the level of cyber security in the civil sector is much lower than in the government or military sector, even in technologically advanced countries. Although there is a good deal of talk about the need for international cooperation and possible international agreements, at present the level of understanding and capability indicates that emphasis should be on exchange of information and technical assistance on information security.

### **Possible threat to Pakistan’s Nuclear Program**

According to a new report from the Nuclear threat Initiative, “any system containing a digital system including nuclear weapons is vulnerable to cyber threats”. This was the case with Stuxnet, a virus reportedly developed by the United States and Israel, which caused Iran’s nuclear facilities major problems in 2010. Such virus may inflict an unacceptable damage to Pakistan’s nuclear facilities as well. The concerns of international community on Pakistan’s nuclear program may lead them to resort to such means to curb Pakistan’s nuclear program, as they did in case of Iran’s.

Moreover, there is an increasing danger of terrorists penetrating Pakistan’s nuclear facilities. They had demonstrated their hacking abilities in multiple events.

### **Cyber Threat from India**

Pakistan has maintained a strategic deterrence against India’s conventional superiority through its nuclear program. India’s cold-start doctrine has also been deterred by Pakistan through tactical nukes. It is perceived that India after failing to punish Pakistan might be looking forward for offensive cyber capabilities which would upend this strategic balance. Armed with offensive cyber weapons, and confident that Pakistan does not have similar capabilities, India could wreck Pakistan’s critical military infrastructure. The development of such capabilities would undermine the balance of power in the

region and allow India to punish Pakistan. Pakistan's financial markets, the electric grid, nuclear weapons, and other physical assets are vulnerable. There have been credible reports about the Indian hacking the governments' websites.

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## CLIMATE CHANGE & GLOBAL WARMING

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One of the most pressing issues of our time, climate change threatens the lives and livelihoods of billions of people. The international security ramifications of climate change are severe. While the topic of climate change has been hugely politicized, the issue is a serious security crisis. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has been recognized that climate change can impact national security — ranging from rising sea levels, to severe droughts, to the melting of the polar caps, to more frequent and devastating natural disasters that raise demand for humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. There have been predictions that the change brought by a warming planet will lead to new conflicts over refugees and resources and catastrophic natural disasters, all of which would require increased governments' resources and spending. The scientific community, in this area, cannot agree on what it will take to reverse this trend. There is agreement, though, that there is no silver bullet. Environmental crises will also aggravate cultural and racial clashes. These will replace the former bases of conflict.

Natural disasters, environmental degradation and extreme weather patterns disrupt harvests, deplete fisheries, erode livelihoods and spur infectious diseases. Demographic trends, migration and rapid urbanization converge with climate change, raising the stakes for those most vulnerable. Climate change is also a "threat multiplier." The loss of land and livelihoods, against a backdrop of persistent poverty, displacement and other insecurities, can trigger competition for scarce natural resources and fuel social tensions. The complex and interrelated causes and consequences of climate change require comprehensive, integrated strategies that identify entry points for collaborative action to mitigate its impacts on people and communities.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

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Robert Kaplan's warning seems to come true. Mass migrations like the Global Refugee Crisis witnessed in the wake of Syrian conflict, refugees resulting from the Rohingya crisis and many other issues are evoking a strong response from the countries, which are denying the asylum seekers. This is giving rise to social unrest. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the new International security perspective is that anything which is revolving around human security issues like poverty, disparity, drugs/human trafficking, gender discrimination, immigration and refugee issues and environmental degradation. So in light of these challenges the pivot to the security will be "good governance" because if the governance fails to deliver the basic services to the individuals it will ultimately results into a threat to the global peace.

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## INTERNATIONAL FOOD SECURITY

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International food security is another major challenge to the contemporary world. With 7.2 billion mouths to feed, the world is facing hard time coping up with it. The pillars of international food security—availability, sustainability of food security, and access to food are shaken due to population explosion, global water crises, land degradation, and agricultural diseases. Many countries experience ongoing food shortages and distribution problems. These result in chronic and often widespread hunger amongst significant numbers of people. Human populations can respond to chronic hunger and malnutrition by decreasing body size, known in medical terms as stunting or stunted growth. It is only evitable that a shortage of food would lead to bigger, more powerful countries



decimating smaller countries in order to usurp their food reserves. There needs to a progressive decrease in population in order to control the emergence of a food scarcity scenario.

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## OUTBREAK OF DISEASES

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Last few decades have seen the outbreak of many diseases. These have already been taking a heavy toll on the health and lives of people and the economies of states. Some of these include, cholera, malaria, zika virus and many others. **Cholera** is a highly contagious bacterial infection spread through contaminated food or water. There have been many cases around the Globe. One such example is found in Yemen. The **International Committee of the Red Cross** said in July 2017 that **cholera epidemic** continued to spiral out of control since it erupted in war-torn Yemen in April 2017.

Moreover, Malaria has also been a case for concern in recent years. Pakistan has a population of 200 million, out of which 177 million are at risk of malaria. There have been 100,000 cases in Sindh in 2018. Malaria has made resurgence especially in districts with suboptimal healthcare services and poor sanitation facilities. The factors responsible for its spread include poverty, inadequate sewerage systems, large population movements and lack of access to quality healthcare. Addressing these is the only way to roll back this disease. Concentrating on multiple prevention measures (eg insecticide-treated bed-nets; precautionary fogging; removal of stagnant water etc) is pivotal to burden reduction in high-endemic regions including Fata, Balochistan and Sindh. Over the years, the absence of political will and poor resource planning have led to the rapid spread of infectious diseases impacting economic development. Women are four times more likely to suffer malaria during pregnancy resulting in low-birthweight infants and stillbirths. Lessons should have been learnt after the **2011 dengue fever outbreak** and the Punjab government's response — areas where the Aedes mosquitoes bred were fumigated, for example. Such practices must be emulated during the annual mosquito-breeding season. It is unfortunate that while Sri Lanka has been declared malaria-free by WHO, malaria in Pakistan remains the fourth largest cause of death among communicable diseases.

Further, another worrying cause for concern is Zika Virus. In an outbreak that started mid-2015, more than 1.5 million people were infected with **Zika** in Brazil, and more than 1,600 babies born with abnormally small heads and brains. Seventy countries and territories have reported local mosquito-borne Zika transmission, with Brazil by far the hardest hit. Researchers warned that at least **2.6 billion people**—over a third of the global population living in parts of Africa, Asia and the Pacific— are vulnerable to Zika. Zika could gain a new foothold in these regions. Although there has been a steep decline in recorded cases in 2018 and 2019, it does not mean that there cannot be another, more severe outbreak.

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## THREAT TO PRIVACY: AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY CONCERN

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Privacy International, a UK based group issued a report last year on security and surveillance in Pakistan. Pakistan is reportedly in the process to acquire high level surveillance machinery from the US, which might disregard the privacy of its citizens. It is trying to emulate the USA Patriot Act, which was passed in the wake of 9/11 attack, and vastly expanded the government's surveillance ability by giving it unfettered right to spy on its citizens.

In July 2015, it was discovered that a number of Pakistani private contractors have been in contact with Hacking Team, a private company based in Italy that specializes in developing snooping software.

It can intercept emails, phone calls and all other messages. It can access all data stored in mobile phones as well as switch on the microphone and camera remotely to listen to and watch everything happening in a user's surroundings.

In Pakistan such capabilities have been used to spy on politicians and judges, as well as human rights activists and journalists, as detailed in a report by Privacy International. More over in 2019, many reports of data mining and illegal use of consumer data, in order to target people for Advertising, have surfaced. This puts citizens and their sensitive information at risk.

Pakistan is a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. Article 17 of ICCPR and Article 18 of the Cairo Declaration both specifically lay emphasis on the importance of the right to privacy. Article 14 (1) of the Constitution of Pakistan confirms that 'the dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable.' This right is purely fundamental and takes precedence over any other domestic law; therefore, Pakistan must tread carefully not to challenge the supremacy of the constitution and ideally should perhaps direct its efforts towards producing laws that actually respect the right to privacy.

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### ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: WAY FORWARD

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If one contemplates at the afore-mentioned security challenges, one finds that these are **trans-national** in nature. No single state, not even the super power, has the control over them. The only way ahead is international cooperation. International community has to make collective and concerted efforts to face the security challenges being encountered by the world in 21<sup>st</sup> century. World leaders have to realize that it is not responsibility of a super power or major powers to ensure a peaceful world and they should agree on reciprocity principle (give and take) for collective good. International peace and security can be achieved and sustained only by protection of international values of freedom and fraternity. Major Powers should realize that non-interference in domestic and regional affairs of other states is imperative to achieve a sustainable peace, as the meddlesome behavior of major powers give rise to resentments and thus violence. Non-state actors and transnational terrorists prey on such resentments to use them for their own vested interests. Situations in Middle East and Afghanistan are a poster example of this behavior by world leaders. World powers should strive to achieve a sustainable balance of power for lasting peace at both regional and international level.

The biggest security threat faced by world is transnational terrorism at the moment; world community needs to develop integrated and concerted efforts to curb terrorism. Collaborative actions for development should be taken to eliminate the root cause of resentment in least developed countries; development is a sure path to sustainable peace and ultimate security.

Environmental security is another great challenged faced by world; building an international consensus on climate change is the need of the hour. Conference of Paris COP21 is a step in right direction, however, a lot more needs to be done.

Nuclear weapons and their spread are a great existential threat to the world. Any nuclear mishap or a war can virtually translate into a global disaster in seconds. Rejuvenated and serious efforts for nuclear non-proliferation are the need of the hour. This requires resolving the international disputes which force a state to develop nuclear weapons for security. Or instance, the international community should mediate between India and Pakistan to solve Kashmir issue. Both states then may consider denuclearizing themselves. Moreover, the international community must respect the existing commitments and treaties aimed at non-proliferation of weapons.

**Concluding Remarks**

The nature of attacks and threats posed to world security and international peace has undergone a transformation. The terrorist attacks, climate change, diminishing social security, political turmoil, and nuclear proliferation are all potent threats to peace and stability of the world in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The ever lingering threat of nuclear war in the South Asia and Southeast Asia underscores the danger of nuclear proliferation. Cyber threats, proxy wars, sectarianism: all have added insult to the injury. World community needs to join hands to collectively fight these common threats to make this world a better place to live for the generations to come.

**Note: Terrorism, Regional outstanding animosities and their implications for international peace and security, Turmoil in middle east, Nuclear proliferation, Growing hostilities in Indian and pacific oceans, Proxy wars, Sectarianism in Muslim world— these aforementioned sub topics have been discussed in detail in different chapters of this book. CSS Aspirants are advised to refer to those chapters for detailed view of the challenge they pose to international peace and security.**

# INTERNATIONAL LIBERAL ORDER & ITS COLLAPSE

## Introduction

After the end of the Second World War, the US and its allies tried to frame the world according to their rules. They tried to establish an order based on liberal democracy and free-market economy. It was assumed that such an order is necessary to prevent the future generations from war. The order was liberal in the sense that it was to be based on the liberal values like the protection of Human Rights, Rule of Law and Respect for countries' Sovereignty. All this was to be spread across the globe. For this, institutions like the UN, the IMF, the WB, and the WTO were built to promote peace, economic development and trade and investment. The US economic and military might was to back the order. A network of alliances like NATO was made to deal with the challenges to this system. The order was thus based not just on ideals, but also on hard power. The reason was that there were a lot of countries which had different ideals. For instance Soviet Union had a fundamentally different political ideology. Throughout the Cold War period (1945-1990), it remained a major threat to liberal democracy. But after its collapse and the end of the Cold War, the liberal world order appeared to be more robust than ever. However, today the liberal world order is in peril. Less than three decades of its rise, this global system of alliances, institutions, and norms is under attack like never before. From within, the order is contending with growing populism, nationalism, and authoritarianism. Externally, it faces mounting pressure from Russia and a rising China.

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## EVIDENCES OF COLLAPSING LIBERAL ORDER

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Few analysts say that the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 was a turning point. The 2008 financial crisis was clearly another. Whatever the starting point, the credibility of the global liberal project is now openly questioned. The liberal order is declining. The future of liberal democracy, open markets and common security agreements does not seem bright. Everywhere the world is seeing is anger. Rising **Populism** in the Americas, Europe and Asia, the spread of **protectionism**, New Cold War, Human Rights Violations, and outright **trade wars**: all show the collapse.

Growing populism is affecting the democracies around the world. Parties of the political extremes have been gaining ground in Europe. The UK voted in favor of leaving the EU. The event was Brexit. This indicated the loss of elite influence. Election of Donald Trump also indicates the same thing. Trump is the person who attacks US media, courts, and law-enforcement institutions. He questions independent judiciary as well. His election shows that the order is collapsing. Moreover, Authoritarian systems, including China, Russia, and Turkey, have become even more accepted by states. Countries such as Hungary and Poland seem uninterested in the fate of their young democracies. All attempts to build global frameworks are failing.

**Protectionism** is on the rise; the latest round of global trade talks never came to fruition. **Great power rivalry** is returning. Nations are increasingly **violating international law norms**. Russia violated the most basic norm of international law when it used armed force to change borders in Europe. China is rising. Analysts are predicting the rise of a **New Cold War**. North Korea has ignored the strong international consensus against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The US has broken the law on many occasions. Israel continues to kill innocent Palestinians. These all events indicate the collapse of liberal order.



The world community remained silent on worst ever **humanitarian nightmares**. It was unable to find a solution to crises like Palestine Issue, Syria Crisis, Yemen Crisis, Rohingya Crisis. The UN itself reported Global Refugee Crisis, but again failed to deter countries from aggression. Venezuela is a failing state. More recently, the UN is silent on India's revocation of Kashmir's special status in August 2019. Mere statements do not work. Though this can lead to an India-Pakistan war, but the international community has failed to take any action. Such things are the evidences of the collapsing international order.

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## REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF LIBERAL ORDER

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There are several reasons for the collapse of the international liberal order.

First, the elite trying to spread the order across the globe made many mistakes. For example US policy of regime change in Afghanistan and Iraq created problems. The international community is still dealing with the fallout. Spreading democracies was essential to spreading the order. The elite intervened in the politics of other countries to turn them into liberal democracies. This proved extremely difficult. Attempting such ambitious social engineering on a global scale was guaranteed to backfire and undermine the legitimacy of the enterprise itself. Spreading democracies by force poisoned relations with other countries and led to disastrous wars, which earned resentment of the local population. Nationalism within the target state is the main obstacle to the promotion of democracy, but balance of power politics also function as an important blocking force.

**Nationalism** is almost certain to cause significant resistance inside the countries targeted for regime change. The elite underestimated this force. They thought they would spread their ideals and values and everybody would accept it. But that assumption was wrong. Moreover, Nationalism is a tool increasingly used by leaders to bolster their authority, especially amid difficult economic and political conditions. The re-election of Indian PM Narendra Modi in 2019 is an evidence of this.

**Balance of power politics** was also expected to help impede the enterprise in particular cases. States that fear regime change—or other forms of U.S. interference—will band together for mutual support and seek ways to thwart the United States' liberal agenda. Thus, Syria and Iran were expected to aid the Iraqi insurgency after the 2003 US invasion. Also Russia and China were expected to back each other economically, militarily, and within international forums such as the UN Security Council.

The economic aspect of the liberal order deserves attention. **Globalization** has befitted a few at the cost of majority. Concentration of wealth in hands of few elite also triggered massive protests. Liberal policies produced significant economic costs for large numbers of people inside the liberal democracies. Those costs, including lost jobs, declining or stagnant wages, and huge **income inequality**, have serious domestic political consequences, which further undermine the liberal international order. These gave rise to populism.

The rise of **populism** has been threatening the order. This is a response to decreasing incomes and unemployment. Obviously economic factor is a major factor. Moreover, job loss is also due to new technologies. Immigration has also causes locals to find difficulty in jobs.

**Rise of China** is also one of the causes of the collapse. Open markets have made it rise and challenge the unipolar world in which the US was the only super power. This unipolarity was the reason US was able to promote it order. For last few years, China's footprint is growing around the world. It is leading the largest urbanization and development scheme on the planet – the \$1 trillion Belt and Road initiative that is reaching more than 65 countries. It also recently launched the Asian Infrastructure

Investment Bank, which rivals the World Bank. It is also a global green powerhouse and setting the pace on the digital economy. China and Russia, in particular, have the political, economic and military muscle to undermine the liberal project in Europe and Asia. Other challengers are Iran and North Korea, which don't bow in front of the US.

**The withdrawal of the US** as a guarantor of the global order is among the major reasons. For the first time since 1945, the chief architect and custodian is no longer proactively advocating for democratic values and human-rights norms, open markets or common security arrangements. If the US strays away too long – and if Trump wins a second term in 2020 – it is hard to see the global liberal order recovering. The US President Trump decided against joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership and to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement. It has threatened to leave the North American Free Trade Agreement and has already left Iran nuclear deal. Last few months saw the heightened tensions with Iran. It has unilaterally introduced steel and aluminum tariffs, giving rise to trade war. It has raised questions about its commitment to NATO and other alliance relationships. He has no respect for liberal values: democracy or human rights. One analyst says: Trump's "America First" and the liberal world order are incompatible.

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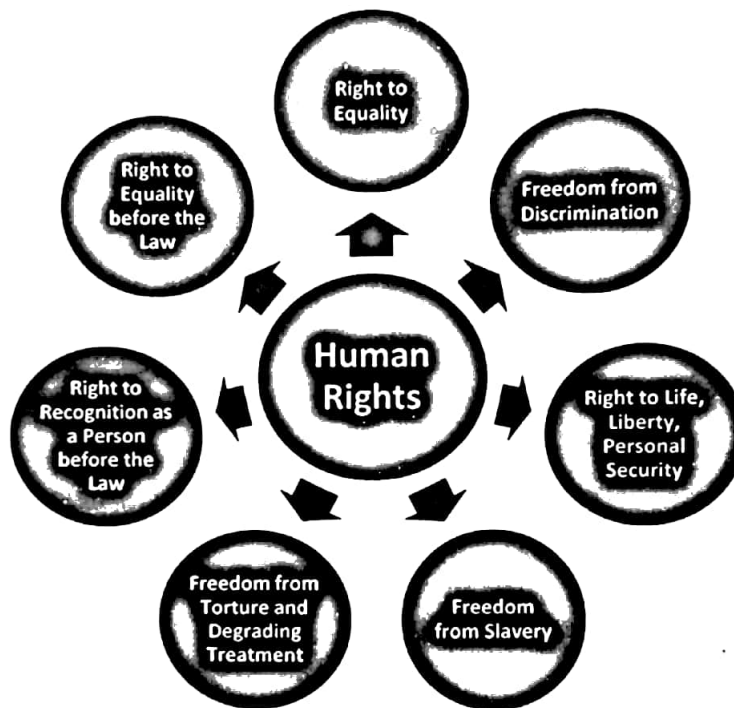
## FINAL ANALYSIS

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The liberal international order, erected after the Cold War, appears to be collapsing. The spread of liberal democracy around the globe—essential for building that order—faced strong resistance because of nationalism, which emphasizes self-determination. Some targeted states also resisted US efforts to promote liberal democracy for security-related reasons. Additionally, problems arose because a liberal order calls for states to delegate substantial decision-making authority to international institutions. Moreover, liberal order allows refugees and immigrants to move easily across borders. Modern nation-states privilege sovereignty and national identity, however, which guarantees trouble when international institutions become powerful. Furthermore, the globalization that is integral to the liberal order creates economic problems among the lower and middle classes within the liberal democracies, fueling a backlash against that order. Finally China's rise also had a lot to do. The liberal values need to be preserved. But certainly they must not be imposed from outside. Countries must be allowed to develop them.

## Introduction

Human rights are moral principles or norms, which describe certain standards of human behavior, and are regularly protected as legal rights in municipal and international law. Some of these basic rights are:



## Basic Concept

All people are born free and have equal rights and dignity so every person possesses a right to life, liberty & freedom. Each individual is a moral and rational being who deserves to be treated with dignity. The moral principles which form the basis of human conduct are called human rights because they are universal. It is something to which you are entitled by virtue of being a human. They are applicable everywhere and at every time in the sense of being universal, and they are egalitarian in the sense of being the same for everyone. They require empathy and the rule of law and impose an obligation on persons to respect the human rights of others.

## BASIC HIGHLIGHTED FEATURES

### Expression and Guarantee by Law

Universal human rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law in the form of

1. Treaties
2. Customary international law,
3. General principles
4. Other sources of international law.

*International human rights law* lays down obligations of governments to act in certain ways or to refrain from certain acts, in order to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups.

### **Universal and Inalienable**

The principle of *universality* of human rights is the cornerstone of *international human rights law*. Some fundamental human rights norms enjoy universal protection by customary international law across all boundaries and civilizations; thus human rights are inalienable. They should not be taken away, except in specific situations and according to due process. For example, the right to liberty may be restricted if a person is found guilty of a crime by a court of law.

### **Interdependent and Indivisible**

All human rights are indivisible, whether they are civil and political rights, such as the right to life, equality before the law and freedom of expression; economic, social and cultural rights, such as the rights to work, social security and education, or collective rights, such as the rights to development and self-determination, are indivisible, interrelated and interdependent. The improvement of one right facilitates advancement of the others. Likewise, the deprivation of one right adversely affects the others.

### **Equal and Non-Discriminatory**

Non-discrimination is a cross-cutting principle in international human rights law. These rights are inherent to all human beings, irrespective of our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without racial or gender discrimination also. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible.

### **Both Rights and Obligations**

Human rights entail both rights and obligations. The obligation to respect means that states must refrain from interfering with or curtailing the enjoyment of human rights. The obligation to protect requires states to protect individuals and groups against human rights abuses.

## **EVOLUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

The idea of human rights originally evolved from being members of a group, such as a family. Human rights imply to the basic *civil, economic, political and social* rights and freedom of an individual.

### **Cyrus Cylinder**

It was in 539 BC when **Cyrus the Great** revived history by doing something extraordinary; after conquering Babylon he set all the captured slaves, free. He also declared that people should be free to choose their own religion. Some other important reforms were recorded in his time and were inscribed on a clay cylinder which came to be known as the Cyrus Cylinder. It has been termed as the first Charter of Human Rights. Thereafter came many laws, constitutions.

### **The Charter of Madina (622 AD)**

It was mankind's First Written Constitution, according to Dr Hamidullah. The Charter contains 47 clauses, which laid the foundations of a sovereign nation-state comprising of Muslims, Jews and Pagans, having equal rights and responsibilities under a common citizenship.

### **The Magna Carta- 1215**

The great charter of *Magna Carta* was issued by King John of England. It was a practical solution to political crisis faced by the King in 1215, and it established the principle that everyone was *accountable*



to the law, even the King. It still remains an important document in the British constitution. Some of the clauses of the Magna Carta are present in the *United States Bill of Rights (1791)*; *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)* and *European Convention on Human Rights (1950)*.

The next milestone in the development of a set of protected rights came in the autumn of 1647, when a group of English political activists, the 'Levelers', produced "*An Agreement of the People.*" The Levelers called for liberty of conscience in matters of religion and freedom from conscription.

Moreover this was followed by one of the most important documents in the political history of Britain: the *Bill of Rights (1689)*, which put the notion of inalienable rights beyond doubt.

After Bill of Rights another important law in the history of human rights was passed in 1833: the *Slavery Abolition Act*, which outlawed the slave trade throughout the British Empire. In 1918 at the end of the First World War the *Representation of the People Act* gave the vote to all women over 30.

Moreover, in 1948, as the world reeled from the horrors of the Second World War, there came an important realization that although fundamental rights should be respected as a matter of course, without formal protection human rights concepts are of little use to those facing persecution. The result was the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, one of the most important agreements in the history of human rights. In 1950 *The European Convention on Human Rights* was agreed in the aftermath of the Second World War. The *Human Rights Act* is rooted in British culture and history.

### The Enlightenment

With overarching resistance to religious intolerance, political and social injustice and economic servitude began to increase, the foundation of Human rights was laid. The Protestant Reformation (16th Century European Movement), The American Reformation (17th Century), The U.S Constitution and Bill of Rights (1791), The French Revolution (19th Century), The Mexican Revolution (early 20th Century), The Russian Revolution (20th Century) and The Chinese Revolution (20th Century) are the many stages of what developed the concept of Human Rights.

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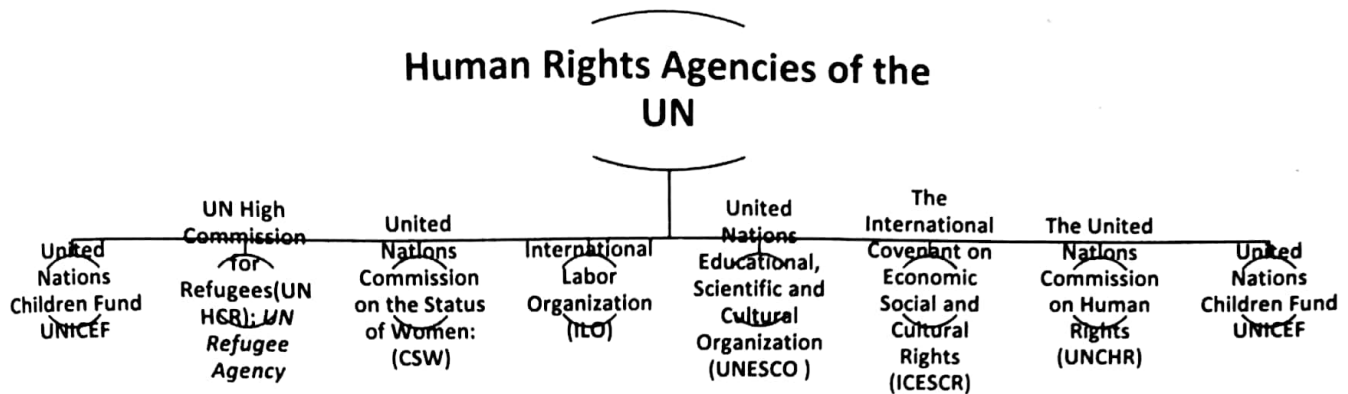
## 19<sup>TH</sup> & 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIANISM

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The World Wars and the subsequent abuse of human rights that took place were a driving force behind the development of modern human rights instruments. The **League of Nations** was established in 1919 following the end of World War I. The League's charter was a mandate to promote many of the rights later included in the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. The League of Nations however was unsuccessful in addressing rising tensions among the members, leading to World War II. The **United Nations** was founded in 1945, this agreement took the form of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)** of 1948. The **European Declaration on Human Rights**, drafted 1950 and enforced in 1953, marked a turning point in history towards diplomacy and peace. *The last half of the 20th century marked the birth of international and universal recognition of Human Rights.* The idea of human rights emerged stronger and more vivacious after World War II.

In 1966, the UN General Assembly produced two treaties that were meant to be the legally binding version of the UDHR; predictably, these were: The **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**, The **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)**. These two treaties are the bedrock of today's human rights structure. Together with the UDHR, they are sometimes referred to as the **International Bill of Rights**.

The Human Rights Agencies of the UN are:



## WORLDWIDE ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: RECENT SCENARIOS

Nearly half the world's population is subjected to various forms of suffering and an outright violation of their rights in the form of deliberate killing, torture, summary execution and rape, detention without trial, child abuse, beating and violence by official agencies, extreme cases of poverty, slavery and death due to malnutrition, disease and famine. *Today, the **Global Spots** of violations of human rights are: Afghanistan, Palestine, Burma, Kashmir, Bosnia, China, India, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Syria, Iran, South Africa, Sudan, Burundi etc.*

### Violations by India

With the reelection of Narendra Modi's the Bhartiya Janta Party in 2019, it is apparent that the rhetoric of hate spewed by the Indian leadership will be the continued narrative of state. As of 2019, there has been a rise of hate crimes, particularly against Muslims and other minorities, as BJP leaders have publically lauded such heinous crimes. State censorship is rampant. Extra judicial killings are the new norm in states such as Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Chattisgarh, and Jammu and Kashmir. In April 2019, The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a radical Hindu group, attacked a Catholic school in Tamil Nadu and sexually harassed nuns and attempted to kill them. In the same month, the UN Human Rights Chief Michelle Bachelet has said that they have received reports that indicate **"increasing harassment and targeting of minorities-in particular Muslims and historically marginalized groups such as the Dalits and the Adivasis"**. Laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) and the Kashmir Public Safety Act (PSA) provide immunity to the Indian soldiers and block any effective accountability measures.

After the killing of Bhurhan Wani in 2016, the struggle for freedom in Kashmir has reached new levels, with subsequent rise in atrocities by the Indian forces. The use of pellet guns has left hundreds of Kashmiris fully or partially blind. In March 2019 residents of the Pinglan village in Kashmir reported that they were used as human shields as Indian forces searched the area for rebels. This is in direct violation of International Law, which in this case dictates that civilians will not be endangered in any circumstances by the military, directly or indirectly. India has martyred estimated 100,000 people in Kashmir. More than 8,000 disappeared while in the custody of army and state police and no one has returned so far. Suppression of internet facilities and outspoken voices is nothing new, as is continued rejection of both UN and Amnesty International reports of blatant human rights abuse in Kashmir.

Its actions include the revoking of Kashmir's special status in August 2019, stripping Kashmir of its autonomy. This was followed by extra judicial killings, illegal detentions, arrest of leaders, using of cluster bombs, curfew imposed in the valley, drastically adding onto the sufferings of the civilians.

### Violations by the United States

The US claims to be the champion of human rights, but to promote and protect its own interests it has been involved in widespread human rights abuse. The War in Vietnam (1955 to 1973) is an example of 17 years' worth of human rights abuse that the US perpetuated. The War in Iraq (2003-2011) is yet another example of how human rights were trampled, all under the pretext of rooting out WMDs (Weapons of Mass Destruction). The continued operation of the US detention camp at **Guantánamo Bay, Cuba**, in the name of fighting terrorism is a prime example of the US' double standards on human rights. Another example is **Bagram abuse**—Afghanistan: The **Salt Pit** is the codename of an isolated clandestine CIA black site prison and interrogation center in Afghanistan. The codename of the same site is also called Cobalt. It is located in the north of Kabul and was the location of a brick factory prior to the Afghanistan War. The CIA adapted it for **extrajudicial detention**. The investigative file on Bagram, obtained by **The Times**, showed that the mistreatment of prisoners was routine: shackling them to the ceilings of their cells, depriving them of sleep, kicking and hitting them, sexually humiliating them and threatening them with guard dogs. In addition to this, personnel of the United States Army and the Central Intelligence Agency committed a series of human rights violations against detainees in the **Abu Ghraib prison** in Iraq. These violations included physical and sexual abuse, torture, rape, sodomy, and murder. The USA is supporting the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) run and secures detention facilities in Northern Syria where the SDF were holding nearly 600 men from 47 countries

The **US Senate Intelligence Committee's report** summary on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) detention and interrogation program is a powerful denunciation of the agency's extensive and systematic use of torture.

A few examples include: In April 2017, US dropped **biggest non-nuclear weapon**—MOAB mother of all bombs—in Afghanistan; in March 2017, air strike at a mosque in Iraq killed more than 200; October 2015 saw an air strike at a hospital in Kunduz, Afghanistan; the indiscriminate support of Israel, when aid, in killing and repressing the Palestinian people.

The regressive Trump Administration's response to a surge in unauthorized migrants crossing the border from Mexico and Central America highlights the urgent need for US immigration policy reform; 6 migrant children have died in US Border detention custody as of June 2019. Children as young as 4 months old have been separated from their parents by the US administration, leading to intense mental trauma of the victims.

US national security policies, including mass surveillance programs, are eroding freedoms of the press, expression, and association; Trump Administration's discriminatory and unfair investigations and prosecutions of American Muslims are also been carried out. Within its own borders, there are been mass incarceration and gross abuse the black community. Blacks make up about 13% of the population, and yet about 40% of this community is incarcerated in prisons over nominal offenses.

### Violations by Israel

The Israeli government continued to enforce sever and discriminatory restrictions on Palestinians' human rights; restrict the movement of people and goods in the Gaza Strip; and facilitate the unlawful transfer of Israeli citizens into settlement in the occupied West Bank. Between March 30 to November 2018, Israel has killed over 250 protestors with use of unnecessary force, and injured over 25,522 in the

Gaza Strip alone, according to a report issued by Human Rights Watch in early 2019. Most of these injuries were life changing, resulting in soft tissue damage and often necessitated the amputation of affected limbs. This is in direct violation with international law dictates of using live ammunition against protestors, most of who were armed with rudimentary weapons that posed nominal threat to life.

Moreover, Israeli government is carrying on with its settlements policy, denying the Palestinian their lands. They are destroying Palestinian people's homes, and forcing them to evacuate. This is against the international law.

### Syria:

Syria, where a brutal civil war has ground on since 2011, has witnessed the highest number of attacks including by Syrian forces; however, a variety of other actors have also been involved in the attacks in numerous theatres of conflict. In this arena, there is no regard for loss of life; the Syrian Conflict has given birth to the largest refugee crisis in history. Despite its accession to the Chemical Weapons Convention in 2014, the Syrian government used toxic chemicals in several barrel bomb attacks. Between 2013 and 2018, there have been about 85 chemical weapons attacks, majority of them perpetuated by Syrian government forces. The fate of those kidnapped by the ISIS in the east of Syria remains unknown and no effort is being made by the coalition in finding them.

According to a report generated by Human Rights Watch in 2018, the death toll in the conflict has reached more than **511,000 people**. The conflict has led to a **humanitarian crisis** with an estimated **6.6 million** internally displaced and **5.6 million** refugees in neighboring countries. The armed extremist group Islamic State (also known as ISIS), and Al-Qaeda's affiliate in Syria, Jabhat al-Nusra, were responsible for systematic and widespread violations, including targeting civilians, kidnappings, and executions. Amnesty International also has documented abuses by armed opposition groups, including the assault by the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) on minority groups. In the areas they control, ISIS forces have committed numerous serious rights abuses, including some that amount to war crimes: They include abductions, arbitrary detention, torture and other ill-treatment and unlawful killings. Women are the worst hit. It has been documented that the ISIS and the Syrian Democratic Forces have been taking women and young girls as sex slaves. This marks the worst use of this heinous crime of rape as weapon of war.

### Violations by Russia

A range of human rights abuse including LGBT discrimination; the crackdown on freedom of expression; and the methods used to quash the Islamic insurgency in the North Caucasus (Dagestan and Chechnya) shows gross violations of human rights by Russia. The **Ukraine Crisis 2014** and the resultant Russia's annexation of Crimea and the subsequent war in Eastern Ukraine is another example of human rights violation. According to **the reports**, as the crisis in Ukraine escalated, Russian policymakers adopted laws imposing further, severe restrictions on media and independent groups. Moreover, Russia reportedly has committed war crimes in Syria, when it sided with President Bashar-ul-Assad. Even 2019 saw Russian planes bombing the civilians in Syria. It has in 2019 forcibly returned asylum seekers from Central Asia and denied asylum to many displaced Syrians.

### Violations by European Union (EU)

It is a sad paradox that the very champions of human rights are committing gross violations of their own and are not held accountable for it. The European Union has failed to address the **Global Refugee Crisis**. The migrants, mostly from war-torn Syria, fleeing persecution and crises have been reaching European countries through the Mediterranean waters. However, the EU countries turned their backs on them. Instead of welcoming and sheltering refugees, they started fencing the borders. Police action was



witnessed in a few cases. Moreover, Greece, Bulgaria, Poland and Romania are alleged to be the worst European Union countries at delivering justice through criminal trials.

### **Arab Spring and Human Rights Violations**

In the aftermath of the Arab Spring in various countries, there was a wave of violence and instability commonly known as the Arab Winter or Islamist Winter. The Arab Winter was characterized by extensive civil wars, general regional instability, economic and demographic decline of the Arab League and overall religious wars between Sunni and Shia Muslims.

Arbitrary arrests, torture and other human rights violations are growing in the Arab Spring Middle East as despots more often than not ignore promises to end the worst abuses while new governments resort to their predecessors' methods to restore order.

### **Violations by China**

China remains a one-party authoritarian state that systematically curbs fundamental rights. The "Great Firewall" used to censor the Internet has been expanded, while the ruling Communist Party has returned to acting as "thought police" by issuing directives warning against the perils of "universal values" and human rights and insisting on "correct" ideology, including Communist Party supremacy. China passed a controversial cyber security bill tightening restrictions on online freedom of speech and imposing new rules on online service providers, raising concerns it is further cloistering its heavily controlled internet. Repression of religious activities has been on the rise: Xinjiang's Uighur Muslims and the Tibetan populated areas have the worst. As of 2019, about 200 mosques have been systematically razed to the ground. **Concentration camps** aimed at eradicating Islamic, in fact any, religious ideology are widespread in the autonomous Uighur state and have been officially termed education camps. China's continued strong arming of the Philippine fishing boats and trade in the South China Sea has been rampant, even though it has been declared illegal by the International Court of Justice. China is being termed by human rights activists as a "**total surveillance state**".

### **Violations by Burma**

Burma has been a focus of systematic human rights violation of the worst kind. Forced labour, human trafficking, and child labour are common. Rampant use of sexual violence has been used as an instrument of control. In 2017, a UN Fact Finding Mission was met with no cooperation from the Burmese authorities: it concluded that security forces in Myanmar were involved in serious violations of international law "that warrant criminal investigation and prosecution" The worst hit of the systematic genocide conducted in Burma have been the Rohingya Muslims. These stateless people have been brutalized, by both the military and the state, with impunity. Of the original number of one million Rohingya residing in the Rakhine state, an estimated 900,000 have since then crossed the border in Bangladesh since 2017. This blatant disregard of human rights has been labeled by the UN as an "**ethnic cleansing**".

### **Violations by Saudi Arabia**

Saudi Arabia always battling with the idea of free speech has succeeded in enforcing their monarchy "through a skillful combination of distribution, penetration, and coercion, with a legitimating dose of ideology." Human rights abuse cases include citizens' lack of the right and legal means to change their government, pervasive restrictions on universal rights such as freedom of expression, including on the Internet, and freedom of assembly, association, movement, and religion and a lack of equal rights for women, children, and noncitizen workers. Saudi Arabia has directly prosecuted prominent women rights activists on charges of treasonous propaganda. The premeditated murder of outspoken Saudi self-exiled

journalist Jamal Kashoggi in October 2018 has led to international outrage, and is a demonstration of Saudi Arabia's repressive government policies.

According to **AFP tallies**, Saudi Arabia carried out **139 death sentences** in 2018. As of September 2019, around 3000 individuals have been held under investigation for many months with no hearing conducted over this period of time. Rights experts have raised concerns about the fairness of trials in the kingdom. Migrant workers suffer abuses and systematic exploitation; in some cases it is tantamount to forced labour. Confiscation of passports and withholding of wages is the norm in Saudi employment agencies. Domestic workers are faced with forced confinement, food deprivation and sexual abuse without authorities to take employers to task.

In the wake of **Yemen Conflict**, Saudi-led coalition began air strikes against Iran-backed Houthi rebels in Yemen in March 2015. As per the UN, thousands of civilians have been killed and tens of thousands wounded as of October 2019. The majority of the casualties are a direct result of coalition air strikes. The coalition's continuing unlawful airstrikes and failure of investigation is evidence of human rights abuse.

### Violations by Iran

According to the Amnesty International, Iran is the world's most prolific executioner of children, accusing the Islamic republic of using torture and ill-treatment to extract confessions from minors. It also accused Iran of breaking international law by failing to close a penal loophole allowing a judge to decide that girls as young as nine and boys as young as 15 bear full criminal responsibility — potentially exposing them to capital punishment.

UN figures in 2018 showed at least 253 executions were carried out in the country, with seven of them convicted as minors. More than 90 minors remain on death row. As of June 2019, around 30 people have been put to death, including two under 18 at the time of their deaths. Human Rights activist Nader Afshari has received a 4 month prison sentence after criticizing government capital punishment policies. He has previously served a year in prison and received 74 lashes for his outspokenness on the Iranian legal system.

In April 2019, at least 88 Ahwazi Arabs, 12 Kurdish people and numerous others from Iran's religious minorities were arrested over allegedly trumped up charges of treason. Iran has been known for undue persecution of its religious minorities, often denying rights to education and medical care.

### Violations by Sudan

Since the ousting of Omar al Bashir in 2018, Sudan has been marked by peaceful protests that have turned violent following attacks by the military on protestors. Since April 2019, the protests have become progressively more bloody and brought Sudan to the brink of economic and social collapse. Widespread killings and rape have been reported. Moreover there has been a complete crackdown on all media outlets and internet coverage has been limited in order to prevent the full picture from appearing in front of the world. Hyperinflation has left the Sudanese people starving and in dire need of humanitarian aid.

### Global Refugee Crisis: Failure of the EU and World Community

The European Union was founded on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for **human rights**, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. **But EU self-interests push migrant and refugee rights to the sidelines.** The Europeans — who had always claimed to be the role-models of Human Rights protection and pointed out at the violations by other countries — themselves failed miserably in dealing with the crises.

More than a **million** people have travelled through the Mediterranean to reach Europe in recent years; about 107,900 arrivals were registered in November 2018. AS of April 2019, and additional 16000 refugees have sought asylum; about 3800 of them were children. Due to the recent rise of populist narratives in the region, there has been increased rhetoric against the admission of refugees, with some countries like Italy and Malta dropping the entire process in the middle and refusing to rehabilitate the refugees they had taken in any further. A worrying trend of reduced search and rescue operations for those refugees coming from the sea has been seen. In 2018, there have been 238 drownings in the last three months alone; it is nearly 60pc of the total deaths in sea in the same year. Centers are overcrowded and facilities scarce. The hardest hit are children. Most of the children coming through from war ravaged regions have faced some form of physical or sexual trauma or both. There are minimal facilities have the capacity to provide care to such traumatized minds. NGOs involved in search and rescue face interference in their workings. True, many in Europe view the refugees as a destabilizing factor threatening the social fabric. Yet, the fact that the **global migrant crisis** is partially the outcome of the **myopic policies** of **wealthy nations** contributing to wars in developing countries not only makes the richer states morally bound to protect humanity but also culpable. Richer nations must be reminded of their responsibility towards upholding **international refugee covenants** — the right of all refugees to seek protection from persecution. Clearly, wealthier nations must forge global consensus on protecting those displaced because of a man-made crisis perpetuated in large part by their own policies.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN

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The narrative of Naya Pakistan has seen the masses dreaming towards an ideal state that is based on the glowing example of Riyasat-e- Madina. Although there has been much focus in eradicating corruption from all levels of the administration, neglect of human rights is a sad state of affairs that is being tackled insufficiently. There have been numerous incidences that have bought to light the utter callousness of perpetrators and a tepid, somewhat moderate response of the new government in curbing them.

**Freedom of the press** Pakistan is complicated. In general freedom of the press is allowed but any reports critical of the government policy or critical of the military is censored. In the year 2018 there have been incidences of journalists and news outlets being curbed in the reporting of events. Gul Bukhari, Asad Kharal, and Kadafi Zaman are a few of many journalists harassed by unknown authorities. In July 2019, the live interview of former president Asif Ali Zardari was pulled from a private channel, sparking outrage amid media representatives over it.

**Blasphemy laws**, in fact the issue of blasphemy itself has been portrayed by the mullahs as a zero game scenario, with no rationalization towards the law and its due procedures. As of 2019, atleast 17 people remain on death row in Pakistan after being convicted of blasphemy; almost all of them belong to religious minorities. In October 2018, the Supreme Court of Pakistan quashed the conviction of Aasia Bibi, a Christian woman who had been on death row for 8 years. Mass protests, damage to public property and threatening of the concerned authorities were the backlash faced. Mashal Khan, a student of Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, was beaten then shot to death over allegations of posting blasphemous content online. There were 22 police officers on campus at that time, yet they were unable to control the mob.

Moreover, Security forces allegedly routinely violate the human rights in the course of counter terrorism operations in Baluchistan and elsewhere. Suspects are frequently detained without charge and or convicted without a fair trial. The state has not banned the use of schools for military purposes, hence

there has been an increase in the bombing and destruction of school infrastructure by militants. This has caused serious setback to the education system in tribal areas yet security forces are doing nothing to stop this practice.

**Administration of Justice** had been weak. Under NAP, the 21st Amendment and the amendment to the Army Act, 1952, gave military courts jurisdiction to try all persons, including civilians and juveniles, in offences related to terrorism. Many have been sentenced to death, and 56 have already been executed. The conviction rate of these military courts is 99%. Only five have been acquitted of terrorism charges in January 2019.

The **HRCP** reported that during 2018, a staggering total of 7246 cases of rape have been reported; 7430 cases of women kidnapping and 2423 cases of domestic violence have been reported. The rate of prosecution as always remains low; this causes deep trauma to the victims.

**Execution figures in 2018**, according to **HRCP**, were grim. There were total of 3909 cases that have been awarded the death penalty. As campaigners have pointed out, most of those executed in Pakistan were not convicted for terror-related crimes. There are serious **issues of transparency** and due process where Pakistan's **criminal justice system** is concerned. '**Confessions**' are allegedly extracted through torture and there is **poor legal representation** for the **accused**. The **flaws** in our **investigation and prosecution** systems are well known.

In recent years, Pakistan has clamped down on human rights and civil society groups domestically and is one of the handfuls of countries that oppose greater recognition and protection of human rights defenders internationally. The **government's 'INGO policy'** and the recently **proposed cybercrime law** considerably constrain human rights defenders. The INGO policy subjects international NGOs to excessive and onerous registration procedures, which are shrouded in secrecy and are arbitrarily applied. The policy gives the government wide discretion to prohibit even legitimate human rights work that it views as 'prejudicial' to the state's interests.

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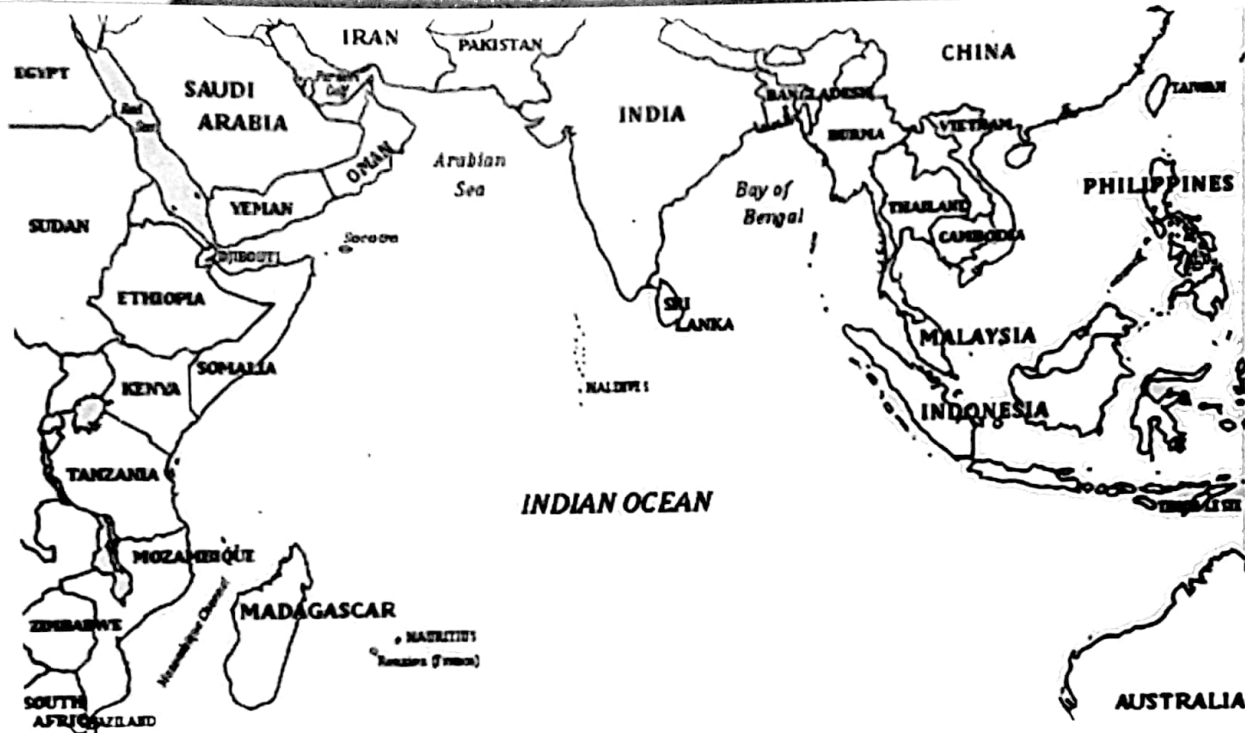
## SUGGESTIONS TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS

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There is a need of an effective system to ensure the protection of human rights and recognition of human right violations all around the world. The recommendations given in the Declaration of Human Rights need to be followed and all organs and system should work together. This can only work if there is collective change in mentality and thinking in our patriarchal society. In an era where everyone is cognizant of their rights, there still remain factors hell-bent on controlling the populace according to their own whims. This does not include just men in our society; it has penetrated deep into the roots of our administration. Awareness and a certain level of empathy need to be generated. Unless our society is educated as a whole about what entails human rights, we will always be guilty of violating them. Reforms and strict laws need to implement that will ensure that no one found guilty of such a crime goes unpunished.



# COOPERATION AND COMPETITION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN



## Introduction

The Indian Ocean covers at least one fifth of the world's total ocean area and is bounded by Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, India's coastal waters and the Bay of Bengal near Myanmar and Indonesia. It provides **critical sea trade routes** that connect the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia with the broader Asian continent to the East and Europe to the West. **Half of all the world's trade** and **two-thirds of its oil** pass through its busy waterways, connecting booming East Asian economies to the Middle Eastern oil terminals and European markets. The Indian Ocean has **36 States around its littoral belt**. In addition, there are eleven **hinterland** states e.g, Nepal and Afghanistan, which though landlocked, are keenly interested in the Indian Ocean politics and trade. Highest tonnage of the world goods, **65 % of world oil, and 35% of the gas**, located in the littoral states, pass through it. Moreover, a number of the world's most important **strategic chokepoints**, including the **Straits of Hormuz** and **Strait of Malacca**, through which 32.2 millions of barrels of crude oil and petroleum are transported per day—more than 50 percent of the world's maritime oil trade—are found in the Indian Ocean Region, which itself is believed to be rich with energy reserves. Nearly 40% of the world's offshore petroleum is produced in the Indian Ocean, coastal beach sands and offshore waters host heavy mineral deposits, and fisheries are increasingly important for both exports and domestic consumption. The region today is an arena of contemporary geopolitics. A renowned journalist and political analyst, **Robert Kaplan** says: "**The Indian Ocean area will be the true nexus of world powers and conflict in the coming years. It is here that the fight for democracy, energy independence and religious freedom will be lost or won.**"

**STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIAN OCEAN AS AN ARENA OF COMPETITION**

The Indian Ocean has nowadays become the center of **political, strategic** and **economic** activities because of the presence of conventional and nuclear vessels of the major powers in the area and because of its own economic and strategic significance. Strategically the Indian Ocean is of a critical importance, mainly because of the presence of major powers in the region, three of which are nuclear: **Pakistan, China** and **India**. The presence of outside powers especially the **US** also enhances its significance. In recent years, these regional powers are increasingly deploying fleet missile **submarines** and **SLBMs** for **second strike capability** as well as for maintaining **balance of power** in order to prevent supremacy of any power. The US has long established its **naval base** in the Indian Ocean at **Diego Garcia**. From here it carried out various operations. It, for a long time, stood to protect the US' dynamic interests in the region. The alliances around the Indian Ocean have important consequences for the all the countries involved in strategic competition. **China's String of Pearls** to **India's Act-East** to the US "**Asia Pivot**" strategy: all reflect the strategic competition. The new US Strategy has linked the US economy and security to developments in the Indian Ocean, elevating India to the position of a long-term strategic partner. This Indo-US collusion in the Indian Ocean has made Pakistan and China wary of their semi-hostile overtures, hence ensuing strategic competition in the region and employment of resource-dependent strategies to counteract and counterbalance the enemy state's manoeuvres.

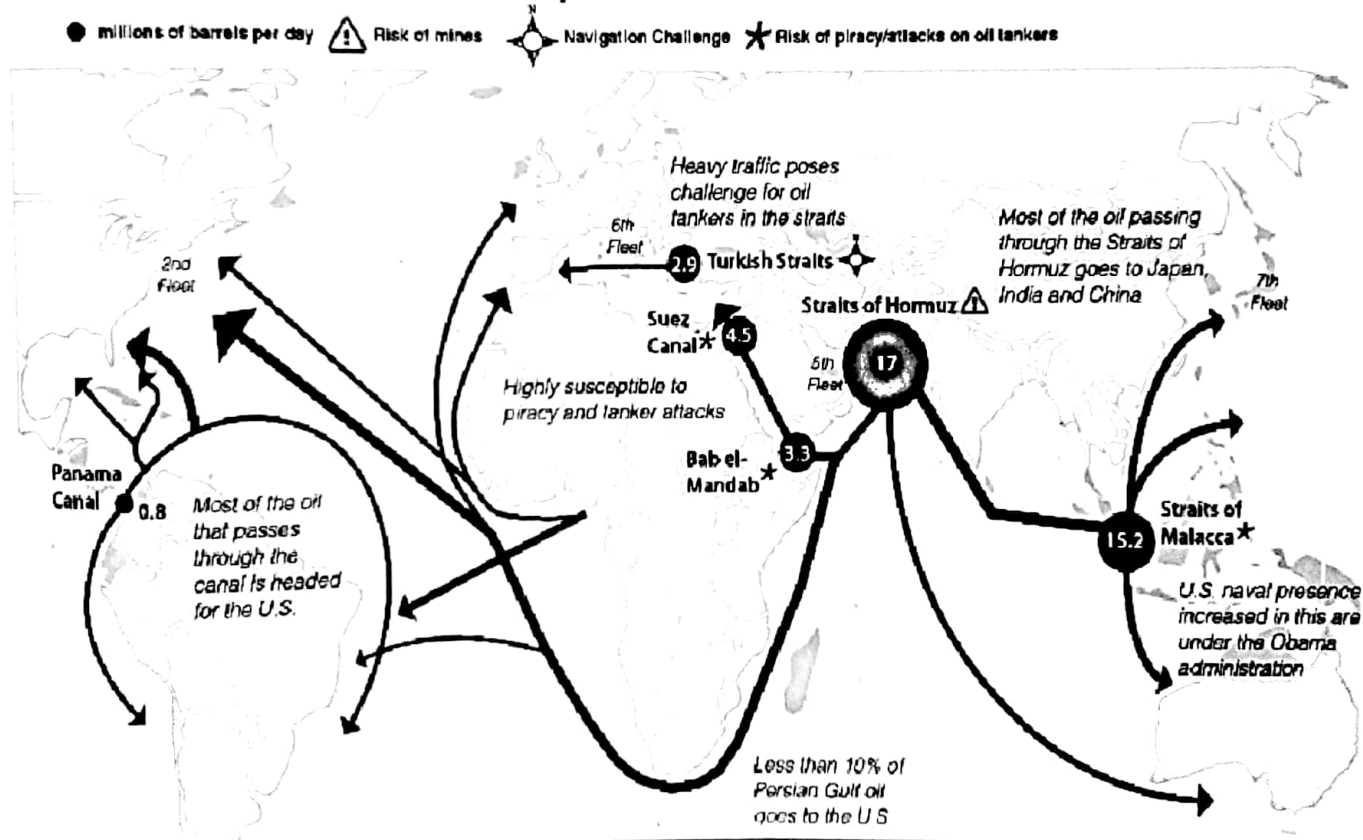
In his **Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power**, Robert Kaplan takes the reader on a tour around the rim of the Indian Ocean, from Muscat to Malacca, discoursing on history, geography, and strategy. Just as the Indian Ocean, with its two huge bays (the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal) and reliable monsoon winds historically forged economic and cultural links across huge distances, so today the rise of India and China intensifies interactions across a vast region that has been neglected in U.S. strategy. China's search for energy security has led it to invest in ports and pipelines in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar (also known as Burma), while India seeks influence from Africa to the South China Sea. Pakistan is a mess, and radical Islam is a response to rapid change in many places. But Kaplan's expectations are surprisingly upbeat (full of optimism or cheerfulness). As stated by Kaplan, Asian investment may develop Africa, ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka and Myanmar may soften as democracy takes hold, Indonesian democracy is strong, China and India will compete more with soft than with hard power since territorial expansion is an option for neither, and the U.S. Navy can engineer an "elegant decline" from hegemony by fostering cooperation with other navies to protect the maritime commons. According to Kaplan, the more China and India rise, the more it will involve the U.S. power in the region as a counterbalance to both.

World politics is entering into a new phase, where inter-state relations will be conditional upon **energy security** (security of demand and security of supply.) As Robert Kaplan points out, energy security will play decisive role in creating conflict and co-operation situations. The Country which holds paramount position in the Indian Ocean is likely to control the flow of energy not only to the East Asia, the future center of the world economic power, but also to other regions. Currently, USA, the world's mightiest naval power is dominating the region and the regional states, especially China, is trying to balance US power in the region in order to protect its interests with regard to its growing economy and energy needs. Oil is shipped from the **Persian Gulf** to almost entire world via the Indian Ocean. It is transported through the **Straits of Malacca** to China, Korea, and Japan. As highlighted in the chapter on the Pacific Ocean, the US has the potential to block the Chinese shipment passing through Malacca Strait. It has already been making alliances with the nearby countries.

## SOURCE OF COMPETITION

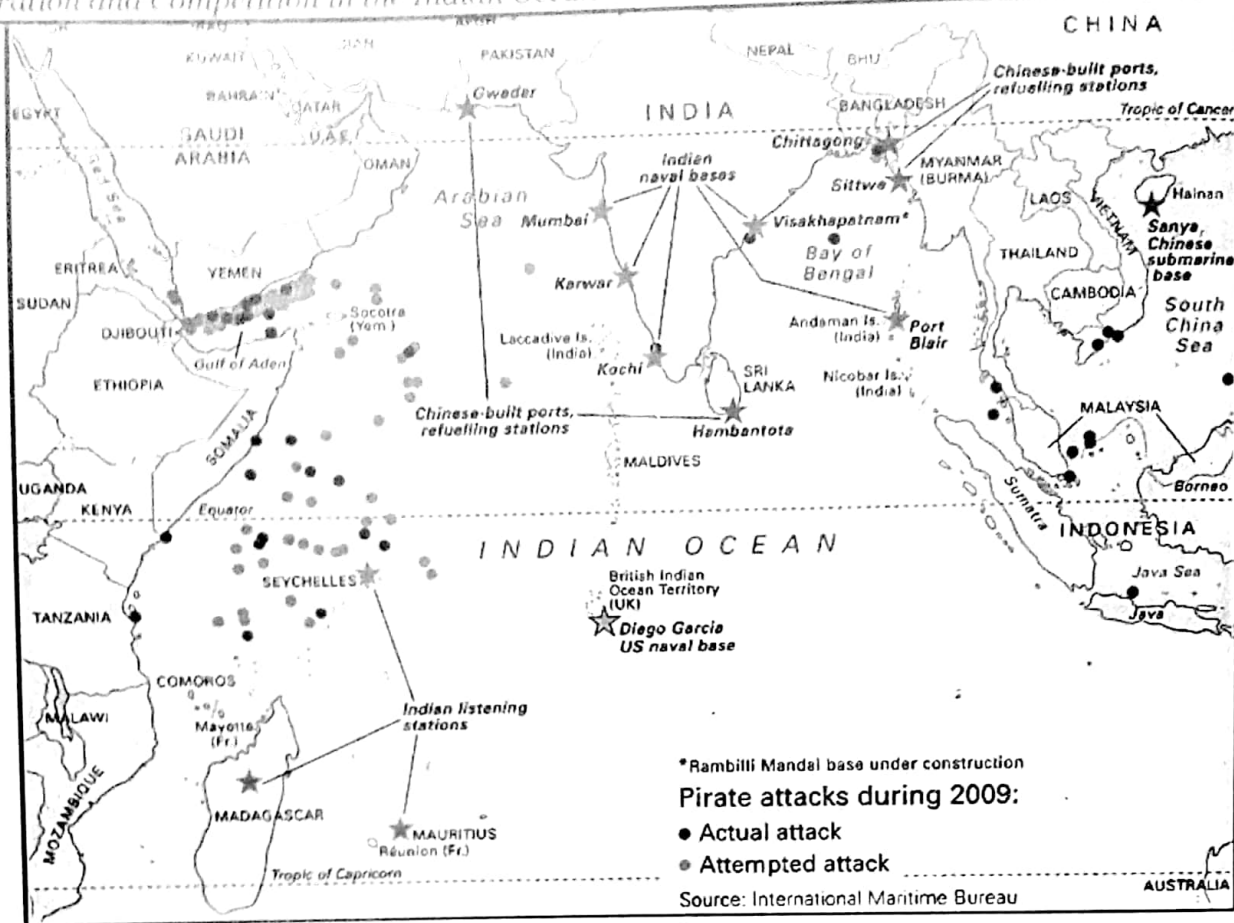
Both China and India are dependent on **energy resources** transported via the secure **sea-lanes** in the Indian Ocean to fuel their economies. India imports nearly 80 percent of its energy, mostly oil from the Middle East. It is due to overtake Japan as the world's third largest energy consumer (behind China and the United States). According to a U.S. Department of Defense report, **84%** of China's imported energy resources pass through **Strait of Malacca** from the Indian Ocean. As Beijing and New Delhi press to maintain economic growth, their dependency on the safe transport of resources will likely intensify. **China's growing global influence and India's rapid economic rise have heightened the ocean's strategic value.** Meanwhile, the United States' **rebalance to Asia**—shifting from a foreign policy dominated by the Middle East and Europe to one more centered on Asia—has also been a contributing factor elevating concern over Indian Ocean security.

### Global Chokepoints and Oil Routes



## COMPETITION BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA IN INDIAN OCEAN

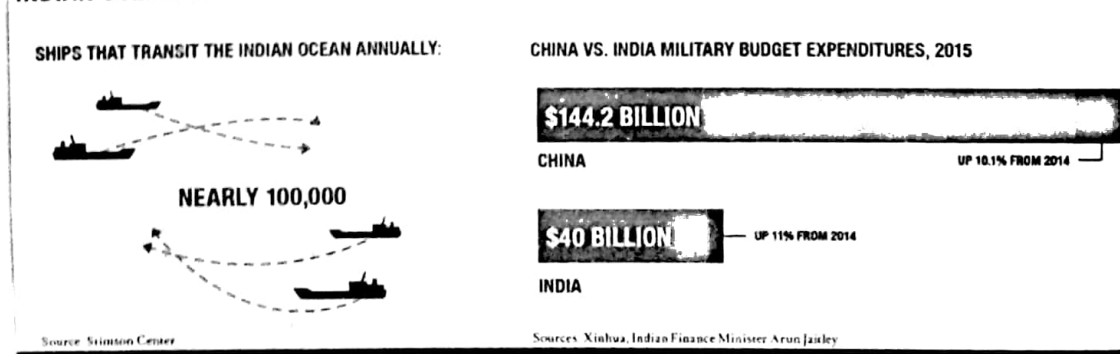
Both countries have developed initiatives to bolster infrastructure and other connections in the region, which the World Bank describes as among the "least economically integrated." Competition between Beijing and New Delhi is not necessarily overt, but each country is seeking to strengthen ties with smaller regional states to secure their respective security and economic interests.



### Maneuvering by China

Beijing's vision, backed by billions of dollars of pledged investment, outlines its **One Belt, One Road plan** combining the revitalization of ancient land-based trade routes, the **Silk Road Economic Belt**, with a **Maritime Silk Road**. China's ties with regional states have deepened, including the influx of Chinese capital into construction projects in Bangladesh, Myanmar, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Since launching counterpiracy operations, Beijing has become increasingly active in the region. China has also undertaken efforts to modernize its military, particularly its naval deployment capabilities to protect overseas interests like personnel, property, and investments.

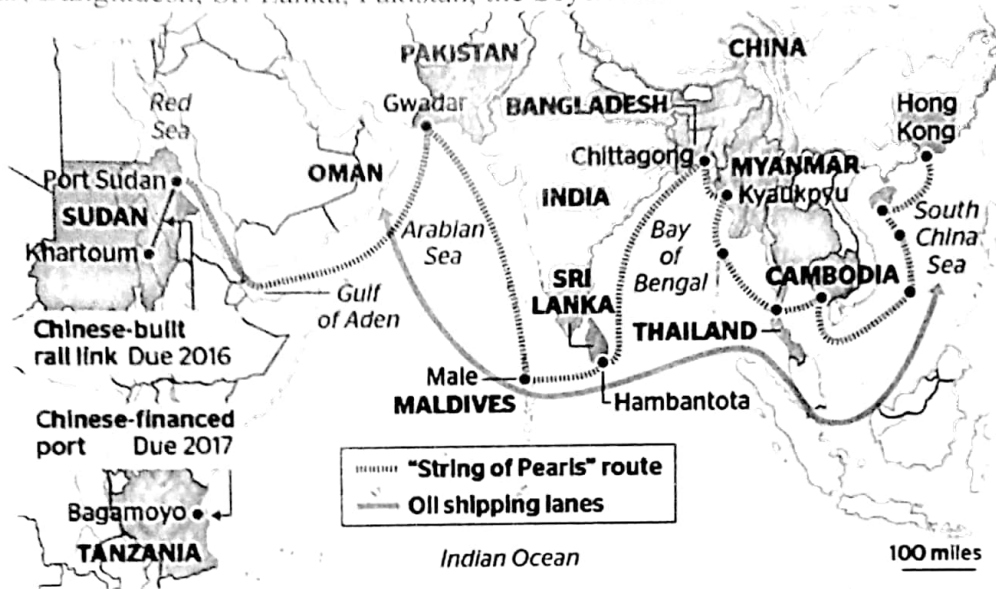
#### INDIAN OCEAN BY THE NUMBERS



### From 'String of Pearls' to Encircling Game

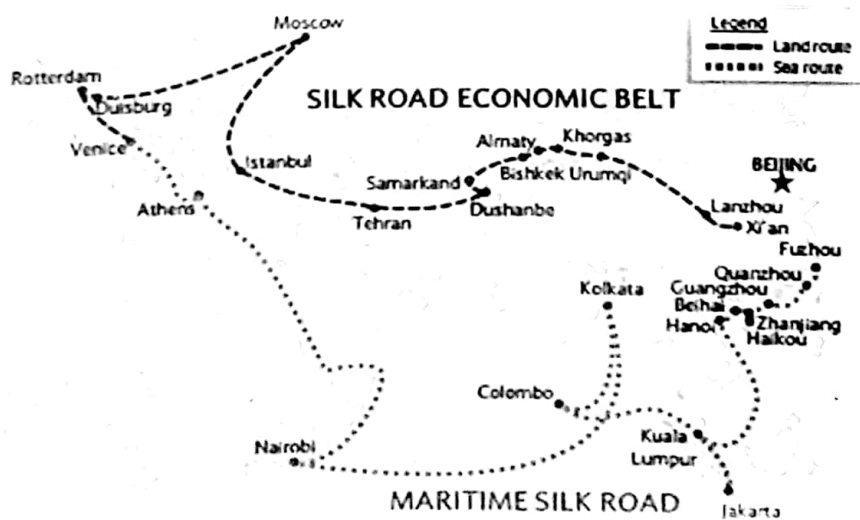
**String of Pearls** refers to the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities and relationships along its sea lines of communication, which extend from the Chinese mainland to Port

Sudan (as shown in the figure below). China's increased presence in the Indian Ocean is the greatest triggering factor behind India's efforts to regain control. As both powers scramble for influence in surrounding countries, the ocean looks increasingly like the board of *Go* – the great encircling game. Suspicions about Beijing's regional ambitions date back to the so-called 'string of pearls' theory from the mid-2000s, when China started negotiating the use of – and investing into – port facilities in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, the Seychelles and the Maldives.



The development of the *new Maritime Silk Route* is likely to further boost China's economic influence and strengthen relations with these countries. Finally, Beijing's recent announcement of the establishment of a naval base in Djibouti, which will be the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) first-ever permanent military base overseas, can be seen as a *strategic game changer*, especially given China's growing economic interests in East Africa.

Silk Road Economic Belt and Maritime Silk Road in the making



Source: xinhuanet.com and Barclays Research

China projects its moves as to support *counter-piracy activities*; however India doubts China's ambitions to be peaceful in the Indian Ocean. India exerts that nuclear submarines are of little help in



the fight against piracy. The specter of **PLA Navy submarines** roaming the waters of the Indian Ocean has kept India's defense analysts on high alert since the end of 2014, when the **first Chinese submarine docked in Colombo**, Sri Lanka. These fears were further compounded by a **week-long port call in Karachi** by a **Yuan-class submarine** in May 2015. While such deployments are common power-projection exercises, India's nervousness over China's military activities in the area are especially due to the latter's enduring friendship with Pakistan.

In July 2017, China set up its first overseas military base, in Djibouti in the Horn of Africa. Ships carrying personnel have set sail to begin setting up the facility, as China's rapidly modernising military extends its global reach. Djibouti's position on the north-western edge of the Indian Ocean has fuelled worry in India that it would become another of China's "**string of pearls**" of military alliances and assets ringing India, including Bangladesh, Myanmar and Sri Lanka.

### Indian Ambitions

India aspires to be the hegemon of the Indian Ocean Region. It claims to have the fifth largest navy in the world in terms of personnel and vessels. It possesses a nuclear submarine, the *INS Arihant*. It also has aircraft carriers. India is obsessed with securing its maritime frontiers by expanding into the ocean. Since colonisation and then the partition, there is an inherent sense of insecurity on land and in the maritime domain. Therefore, India is rapidly growing its ability to project naval power.

Since Narendra Modi became the Indian Prime Minister, maritime security – focused on the Indian Ocean – has become a top priority in India's domestic and foreign security policy. This focus is due to the fact that India is surrounded by – and vitally dependent on – the ocean's sea lanes, which carry 90% of its foreign trade. It is also in line with India's effort to assert its position as a global power and net security provider in its neighborhood and beyond, at a time when most sources of tension and potential conflict in Asia lie at sea. Last but certainly not least, it is driven by the increased military activity of foreign players in its own backyard – notably China. For a long time, India was accused of '*sea blindness*': it focused mainly on land-based defense against China and Pakistan and neglected its maritime potential. Keen to protect its independence and neutrality, it has traditionally insisted on developing indigenous capabilities, which substantially slowed down the development of its maritime power. In line with Modi's '*make in India*' doctrine, indigenous production continues to be promoted today (albeit not exclusively), with the aim of also boosting its domestic economy. New Delhi's '*blue water*' ambitions were first outlined in its *2007 Maritime Security Strategy*, after which it acquired a number of capabilities, including *amphibious surface ships* and *nuclear powered submarines*. With the acquisition of the *Vikramaditya aircraft carrier*, India is now the only power in Asia (apart from the US) in possession of two such landing platforms. In 2013, it also launched its first indigenous *naval communication satellite*, which further enhanced its capacity to monitor the entire Indian Ocean. In February 2016, India hosted the **2016 International Fleet Review (IFR)** – a series of events including an international military exercise, a prestigious parade and a set of conferences, bringing together navies from over 50 countries. With the theme '*United through Oceans*', the IFR traditionally aims at promoting trust and cooperation among neighboring navies.

#### 1. India's "Act-East" Policy

As China moves westwards, India is moving eastwards. In 2012, India expanded its naval presence on the *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, located at the western bottleneck of the Malacca Straits. Although neglected for far too long, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands have been a crucial factor in India's maritime strategy. Its strategic location in the Indian Ocean puts India at an advantageous position in the changing geopolitics of the region. Known as India's strategic outpost, the islands are

central to India's engagements with regional navies and can emerge as the focal point of New Delhi's evolving *Indo-Pacific doctrine*. The islands constitute a *strategic outpost* for any engagement with South-East Asian navies, and facilitate deployment in the South China Sea, where Delhi is becoming increasingly involved – much to China's chagrin. *The repeated mentioning of the 'Indo-Pacific' in India's new Maritime Security Strategy reflects a geostrategic shift in which New Delhi not only 'looks' but also 'acts East'*. India's interest to play a more active security role in East Asia is warmly welcomed by its strategic partners – the US and Japan, as well as ASEAN countries. India also holds regular joint naval exercises (*Malabar*) with the US and Japan. This, in turn, is perceived by Beijing as a concerted effort to prevent its rise.

## 2. Indo-US Maritime Engagement

In August 2016, India and the United States signed the **Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA)**. The agreement formalises an ad-hoc arrangement already in practice and furthers India-US military-to-military cooperation. The agreement, put simply, provides access to each other's military facilities for fuelling and logistic support on a reimbursable basis.

LEMOA, sometimes called a **Logistics Services Agreement (LSA)**, was debated by previous governments as well, but it could not be finalised because of Indian domestic political opposition, which were themselves based on several misperceptions about LSA. But China's growing military strength and increasing belligerence has led to a conscious strategic choice by New Delhi to get closer to Washington. This has made India a lot more comfortable with the US, which also worries about China's behaviour and power. The United States largely excludes Pakistan, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, and the African littoral from its conception of the Indo-Pacific region. For 15 years, the United States has actively sought to de-hyphenate India from Pakistan as a part of an effort to build ties to New Delhi. Moreover, in contrast to China, the United States sees Pakistan as a part of its South Asia policy, which is focused on counter-terrorism.

## Pakistan's Role in the Indian Ocean

Indian Ocean is important for Pakistan as well as Pakistan's only coastline is here. It is therefore a vital access point for trade and energy supply. Pakistan shares a 990km long coast line located at the heart of the Arabian Sea and is among the major littoral states of Indian Ocean region. It has a bulk of marine economic resources in its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Its Western coast adjacent with the Gulf makes it strategically substantial by providing shortest sea route to the landlocked Central Asian Republics Afghanistan and Western province of China. Due to China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative and CPEC, the Indian Ocean assumes even greater significance for Pakistan. Pakistan's major interests in the Indian Ocean are preventing India from dominating the ocean and protecting its vital import and export routes. Pakistan in recent years has developed naval capability to neutralize India's naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan in March 2018 successfully conducted a test of indigenously-developed submarine launched cruise missile (SLCM) having a range of 450km. Moreover, it has turned to having large external balancer in form of China. Pakistan doesn't consider the United States a reliable partner in shoring up its Indian Ocean security, given the history. In fact the trust further loses in light of U.S. security dialogue with India. So Pakistan looks to China as a balancer. To cope with the Indian naval power, Pakistan has also struck a deal with China for the supply of eight attack submarines. Pakistan sees the Arabian Sea as indispensable to its strategic depth doctrine. Pakistan's economic and geopolitical interests are bound to grow rapidly in the most important sea of the IOR. Pakistan stands to benefit from the China's "string of pearls," and has therefore handed over the operational rights to China. Pakistan's economic stake in Indian Ocean security, like India's, is considerable: its fragile

balance of payments is dependent on sea trade; 95% of its trade and 100% of its oil import is transported through the Indian Ocean. As such Pakistan's main goal is to neutralize India as well as secure its economic and Energy interests and at the moment it is doing in alliance with China and at the same time improving its Naval and military power.

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## IMPLICATIONS OF CHINA-INDIA RIVALRY

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Emerging implications of Sino-Indian rivalry in the IOR include the following:

- This rivalry is no longer mainly limited to the Sino-India border in the Himalayan geographic area, though that area, too, has seen an increase in tensions as demonstrated by the stand-off at Doklam. China-India competition is expanding into the Indian Ocean region and as a result is more maritime-focused than in the past. This has the potential to spur further development of naval assets on both sides that could have implications for U.S. naval procurement and regional posture.
- The geographic expansion of strategic competition between China and India is increasing strategic linkages between East Asia and South Asia and the Indian Ocean, making the broader Indo-Pacific region increasingly linked.
- Both India and China have an expanding vision of their place in the world.
- There may be increasing competition for energy and other resources across the IOR which could have an impact on global markets.
- Increasing competition with China may add impetus in India to further develop its relationship with the United States and other regional partners in the Indo-Pacific, such as Australia, Japan, and others.
- The competition may offer increasing opportunities to Indian Ocean littoral states to play China and India off against each other to extract foreign aid, military assistance, expanded trade and investment, and other advantages.
- The expansion of India's and China's naval capabilities and presence and increased engagement with regional states may relatively diminish the strategic posture of the United States in the IOR.

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## STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE IOR

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Small regional states, such as **Bangladesh, Maldives, Myanmar, Seychelles** and **Sri Lanka**, are recipients of both Chinese and Indian aid and investment, primarily for transport and infrastructure development. The majority of their foreign policy ties are determined by what deals can be made to help them meet their national development goals. Global powers from outside of the region also have an interest in maintaining the ocean's security. The **United States** operates a naval support facility—**Diego Garcia**—on UK-leased territory in the central Indian Ocean, while **France** maintains a presence in the region from **Reunion**, its Indian Ocean island outpost. **Australia** has a modern naval force operating in the region, and the IOR is increasingly featured in defense, national security, and maritime strategies developed in Canberra.

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## NUCLEARIZATION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

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In May 2016, in its efforts to have a full-fledged and multi-layered Ballistic Missile Defence system, India successfully test-fired indigenously developed supersonic interceptor missile, capable of destroying any incoming ballistic missile. Expressing concern over India's missile test, Sartaj Aziz said it will disturb the balance of power in the region, and added that Pakistan will continue to upgrade its

defensive capabilities by acquiring advanced technology. In January 2017, Pakistan attained the credible 'second strike capability' as it successfully test-fired nuclear capable submarine-launched cruise missile (SLCM) Babur-III. The successful attainment of a second strike capability by Pakistan represents a major scientific milestone; it is manifestation of the strategy of measured response to nuclear strategies and postures being adopted in Pakistan's neighborhood. The 450km range Babur-III, a sea-based variant of Babur-II — a ground launched missile — was test-fired from a mobile platform in the Indian Ocean to hit a land-based target at an undisclosed location. The analysts said that the successful test, would help stabilise the deterrence that had been strained because of India's sea-based missiles K-4, K-15, Dhanush and Brahmos, which has got land, air and sea versions. Pakistani officials had criticised India for nuclearisation of Indian Ocean.

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## PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION IN INDIAN OCEAN

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Despite the rise in competition, multilateral cooperation involving China, India, and other states, takes place on issues including piracy, disaster relief, and drug smuggling. The following areas show potential for expanded cooperation:

### **Counter Piracy**

Piracy has been costly to ocean-faring traders but global and regional responses have shown some success. Counterpiracy efforts near the *Gulf of Aden* have been the most successful manifestation of regional cooperation. More than eighty countries, organizations, and industry groups participate in operations in the IOR under the auspices of the ad hoc, voluntary *Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS)*, created in January 2009 in response to the UN Security Council resolution 1851. Since military cooperation began, the volume of attacks has shrunk. Yet experts warn that pirates have turned to more sophisticated equipment and if naval pressure in the western Indian Ocean is reduced, pirate activity would rise again.

China and India carry out anti-piracy activities independently, deploying naval vessels to escort merchant ships, provide protection, conduct rescue operations, and confiscate contraband. In April 2016, China dispatched its twentieth naval escort task force to the Gulf of Aden. Meanwhile, India has prevented forty piracy attempts and developed an online registration service for merchants to request Indian naval escorts.

### **Search and Rescue**

Well concentrated efforts in the field of search and rescue are inevitable for effective maritime operationability in the Indian ocean, both India and China have sought to collaborate with each other in this regard. A recent example of cooperation was the search effort for the Malaysia Airlines Flight 370, which disappeared en route from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing in March 2014. At the height of operations, twenty-six countries, including China and India, contributed to the search mission. Wreckage believed to be from the flight was discovered in July 2015.

### **Disaster Relief**

There is room for growth on *humanitarian aid* and *disaster relief cooperation*. After the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, governments, including Australia, France, India, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the UK, and the United States, participated in extensive relief and rehabilitation efforts. Separately, China disbursed more than \$62.2 million in aid, shipped supplies, and dispatched medical

and rescue teams. More than a decade later, the IOR's vulnerability to natural disasters and the subsequent effects of climate change could provide impetus for more extensive collaboration.

### **Fisheries**

Consumers in Indo-Pacific countries on average obtain 20-50% of their animal protein from fish, and industrial fishing is an important export for smaller countries in the IOR. Regional players identify overfishing and environmental degradation as serious risks to sustainable economic development and food security, but mechanisms to establish sustainable fisheries have not been effective.

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## **LACK OF GOVERNANCE IN INDIAN OCEAN: A GREAT SECURITY CHALLENGE**

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The ability to control, however, does not necessarily mean effective governance. The Indian Ocean desperately needs a sustainable, inclusive international regime for the management of its growing security challenges. Surrounded by fragile states, its waters are plagued by transnational crime – from piracy and illegal fishing to people, goods and weapons smuggling. The ocean is also home to a number of small island states, such as the Maldives and the Seychelles, which are particularly vulnerable to marine environmental degradation and climate change.

Finally, if the militarization of the region's waters continues, there will soon be need for an established crisis prevention mechanism to diffuse potential tensions or avoid accidental clashes. Despite India's rhetoric on the need for multilateral maritime cooperation, the Indian Ocean lacks the adequate institutional structures, political willingness and necessary trust required to bring this about. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the only formal regional organization, is paralyzed by the ever-lasting tensions between India and Pakistan, and in maritime terms only discusses elementary legislation on trade and fisheries. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), the largest regional organization bringing together 20 countries, increasingly discusses the need for maritime cooperation and building a 'blue economy', but geopolitical competition and a lack of resources are hampering any practical implementation. Finally, the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), launched in 2008, is the latest example of India's effort to promote maritime cooperation in the region, inspired by the Western Pacific Naval Symposium. The voluntary organization brings together the navy chiefs of 35 littoral countries (with China as an observer), to discuss basic issues such as information-sharing, transnational crime, and interoperability in case of search and rescue operations – albeit informally. While not disputing the added value of such multilateral fora, their effectiveness in reducing regional tensions or implementing functional security measures remains limited. First of all, this is due to major discrepancies in size and level of economic development, as well as political and strategic divergences among parties. This is further complicated by the presence of extra-regional powers – namely China, Japan and the US. Culturally, the concepts of regional cooperation and multilateralism are neither fully understood nor developed in the area due to a lack of common historical identity. The final stumbling block, ironically, seems to be India itself. While it is trying more than ever to regain control in the Indian Ocean and promote maritime cooperation, New Delhi is also less willing to engage in initiatives that may weaken or undermine its dominant position.

### **Conclusion**

The Indian Ocean has a central place in the strategies of the regional and global powers. The US might not be able to assert its dominant position in the region. The Indians and the Chinese are entering into a dynamic great-power rivalry with China expanding vertically and India horizontally. Pakistan would continue to protect its interests and assert its position by establishing alliance with China and by maintaining its own naval power. While the IOR region certainly owes its diversity, cultural and



historical constructions to the very existence of India, India should not envisage ownership of the ocean, despite several attempts in the past. The Indian Ocean cannot and should not be understood as India's ocean. Therefore, the perception that a more consolidated Chinese presence in the IOR, enabled by adversarial Pakistan, has prompted India to become actively engaging and building up the conditions to remain relevant, not only at the strategic-military level, but also at the social, political and cultural levels. What is becoming obvious as things unfold is that no single state would be able to dominate the region singularly; therefore, a sort of multilateral set up will have to be established whereby each country can "equitably" pursue its goals. These countries must find a common ground, and achieve win-win for all.

### Introduction

Just as there are military geopolitics, diplomatic geopolitics and economic geopolitics, there is also **energy geopolitics**. **Global energy politics is interplay of politics, economy, energy and geography**. Energy and politics are intrinsically linked in contemporary era. Modern life—from production of goods, to means of travel and entertainment, to methods of waging war—is heavily dependent on access to energy. A country's ability to acquire and use energy supplies is directly linked to its economy, its national security, and the quality and sustainability of its environment. Energy supply can serve as a basis for regional cooperation, but at the same time can serve as a source of conflict among energy seekers and between producers and consumers which gives rise to energy politics. Major economic and political powers are poised against each other in global energy market to ensure safe access to their share of energy resources.

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## RECENT SCENARIO: UNCERTAINTY IN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY MARKETS

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The foreign policy and energy policy issues that arise from the intersection of energy's political geography and other international concerns are multi-dimensional. The **OPEC oil embargo** of 1970s and the **Iranian Revolution** that resulted in **global oil crises**, and its severe repercussions forced a re-conceptualization of energy security and a rethinking of strategies to anticipate, avoid and cope with supply crisis. Moreover, the restructuring of the world oil markets had lasting effects on the dynamics among suppliers, consumers and intermediaries. Oil crises around the world clarified new patterns of interaction and laid the basis for new global energy politics.

In contemporary era efforts are under way at identification of new geopolitical factors and to trace the implications for established arrangements and policies to tackle. An important ancillary element would be the design of monitoring devices for following changes of key variables in the external environment which will aid in forming better and comprehensive policies.

### Turbulent political conditions

As a consequence of turbulent political conditions, the element of uncertainty in international energy markets has increased markedly. That is the result of political developments that impinge, directly or indirectly, on the security of supply. **Arab Spring** and its aftermath pertaining to instability in major oil exporting countries; the **sanctions placed on oil and natural gas exports from Iran** for its nuclear program (it seemed to end after Iran and P5+ 1 Nuclear Deal, but again revived as the US withdrew); the heightening of regional **tensions across the Middle East** associated with the contest between Shi'ite and Sunni blocs led by Iran and Saudi Arabia respectively; growing tensions of US and Iran going to war due to certain unfortunate events in 2019; **Russia's resurgence** and deteriorating situation in Eastern Europe. Adding to the uncertainty over the middle and longer term are **market developments**. These include **growth in demand** from the burgeoning economies of **China, India** and other **Asian economies**; and the **increase in the supply of hydro-carbon fuels** through the exploitation of new sites and the application of new production techniques, e.g. hydraulic fracturing. Those new



sites, and the distribution pipelines being constructed and negotiated to major consumers, are also located in **areas of political uncertainty**: Central Asia and the Caspian Basin, and Russia.

### Probable Scenarios

The present chaos in the Middle East reflects the region's significance in world affairs as the place where ideological and strategic political forces intersect the established patterns of economic interdependence. Energy and finance are the paired dimensions of that deep and intricate connectedness that are vulnerable to disruption by conflict, impaired government authority or calculated attempts to use control of energy resources as a diplomatic weapon.

Consider these plausible scenarios that could arise from current crises. State failure due to civil strife a la Syria in a major oil exporter: Libya, Iraq, Algeria, Nigeria. Military conflict that leads to a physical blockage of oil commerce: war with Iran accompanied by a closing of the **straits of Hormuz**. Accession to power of a regime so hostile to the West as to curtail exports: Saudi Arabia, Russia. Interference with major pipelines: Russia, Syria.

### Fluctuation in Oil prices

Oil remains the world's most critical commodity. For the last hundred years, **oil politics** has been nearly the same as **geopolitics**. It has been the **cause of several conflicts**. The recent strident **decline in oil prices** is a benefit to all who import and consume oil—China, India and Pakistan. However, it has reduced the earnings of major oil exporters, both OPEC and non-OPEC members.

The world has been witnessing Reduced Economic Growth since the global economic recession: slow US economic recovery, no growth in Europe and declining growth in China, India and Brazil. Moreover, the oil and gas production has been expanding significantly over the last decade. A major contributor to this has been **US shale oil and deep sea production**. Further, there was a growing availability of **alternate sources of energy**, further diminishing oil demand. Besides these, Iran has in 2015 struck a deal (**Iran and P5+1 Nuclear Deal**) with the world powers, aimed at curbing its nuclear program in return for lifting of sanctions on its economy. It has made a break-through and is opening up to the world, competing Saudi Arabia in oil and gas supply. Under these conditions, it would have been expected that the world's largest producer, Saudi Arabia, would have brought the market into balance by cutting its own sizable production. However, Riyadh not only maintained but added 100,000 barrels to its production, driving prices further down to below \$70 per barrel benchmark.

There was considerable speculation about the rationale for the Saudi policy. The most reasonable explanation is that Saudi Arabia aims to preserve its market share by obliging less competitive producers — shale and deep sea oil and alternate energy — off the market. The average breakeven price for shale extraction in the US is \$45 per barrel, whereas Saudi costs are less than \$5. With prices of around \$60 per barrel, production of shale oil and deep sea oil will become considerably less profitable or non-profitable. As a result, some US shale producers have deferred expansion plans; several are likely to face shutdown if lower price trends persist. Conversely, Saudi Arabia, with \$1 trillion in reserves, can sustain lower prices for a considerable period.

Moreover, few analysts believe that the Saudi policy pushing lower oil prices is also designed to inflict additional economic pain on its arch-rival, Iran, as well as Russia, Iran's major ally in the current sectarian conflicts engulfing Iraq, Syria and the Levant. It is safe to say that lower oil prices are unlikely to prevail over the long term. With growing populations, industrialization and urbanization in the



developing countries demand for oil will continue its rise until and unless alternate energy sources become much cheaper.

### Uncertainty in the wake of US withdrawing from the Iran Nuclear Deal

The deal was undoubtedly one of the greatest achievements of the Obama administration. However, Trump blasted the deal as “the worst deal ever”. So the Trump administration, in May 2018, decided to pull the US out of the deal. It probably meant reimposing oil-related sanctions on Iran that were lifted following the signing of the agreement. It was diplomatic furor and a blow to nuclear arms control. Many critics warned that this risked setting off a chain of events that could lead to war. The US announced additional sanctions designed to cripple the country’s economy; and even deployed an aircraft carrier strike group and B-52 bombers to the region to send “a clear and unmistakable message” to the Iranian regime not to challenge the United States. If the deal collapsed, Iran would resume its nuclear enrichment program. To stop it, the United States would end up with no option but to use force. This in turn could ignite a wider conflagration that would disrupt oil supplies across the globe.

Escalation cycle seemed well under way. As part of its “maximum pressure” campaign, the United States in April 2019 designated the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) a terrorist group; ended the waivers that allowed a small number of countries to purchase Iranian oil; Predictably, Iran has responded not by caving to U.S. demands (let alone collapsing) but with a pressure campaign of its own. Four Saudi oil tankers off the coast of the United Arab Emirates were sabotaged with explosives, and two days after that drones crashed into Saudi oil facilities, causing explosions and shutting down a pipeline. No Iranian role in these events has been proved, but the IRGC has resorted to similar asymmetrical and untraceable attacks in the past—which is exactly why U.S. military and intelligence officials had warned that such retaliation was possible. This adds to uncertainty. Tensions are high as of October 2019.

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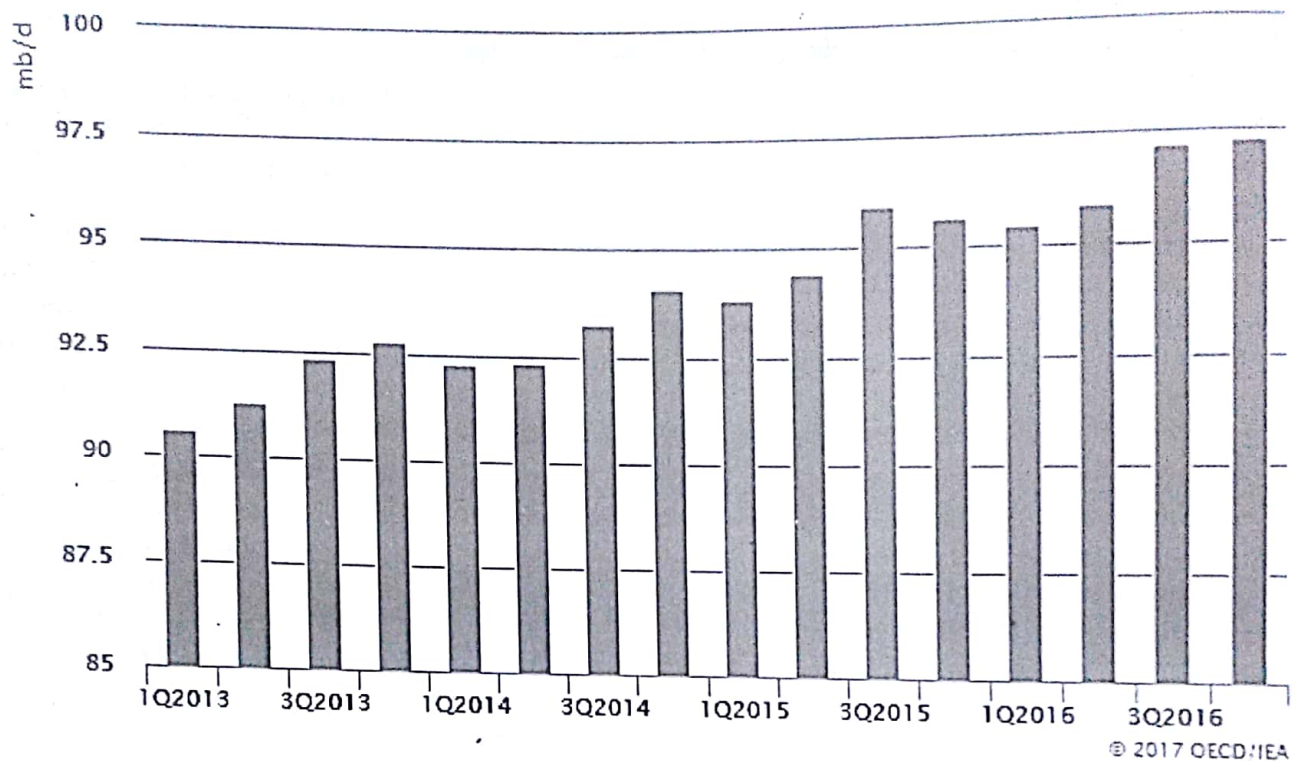
## IMPORTANT FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY GEO-POLITICS

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The **International Energy Agency** has provided a snap of the **energy outlook**. The most striking points are:

1. World demand for energy has doubled over the past 40 years. European Union, with a population of around 460 million, consumes over 15 million barrels of oil per day. It has seen 0.5% growth in consumption and 8% production decline rate in recent years. The EU will have to “fight” for these additional resources in an oil import market already hot with competition from the USA, China and other developing countries. The figure below shows world oil demand in million barrels per day.

## World Oil Demand

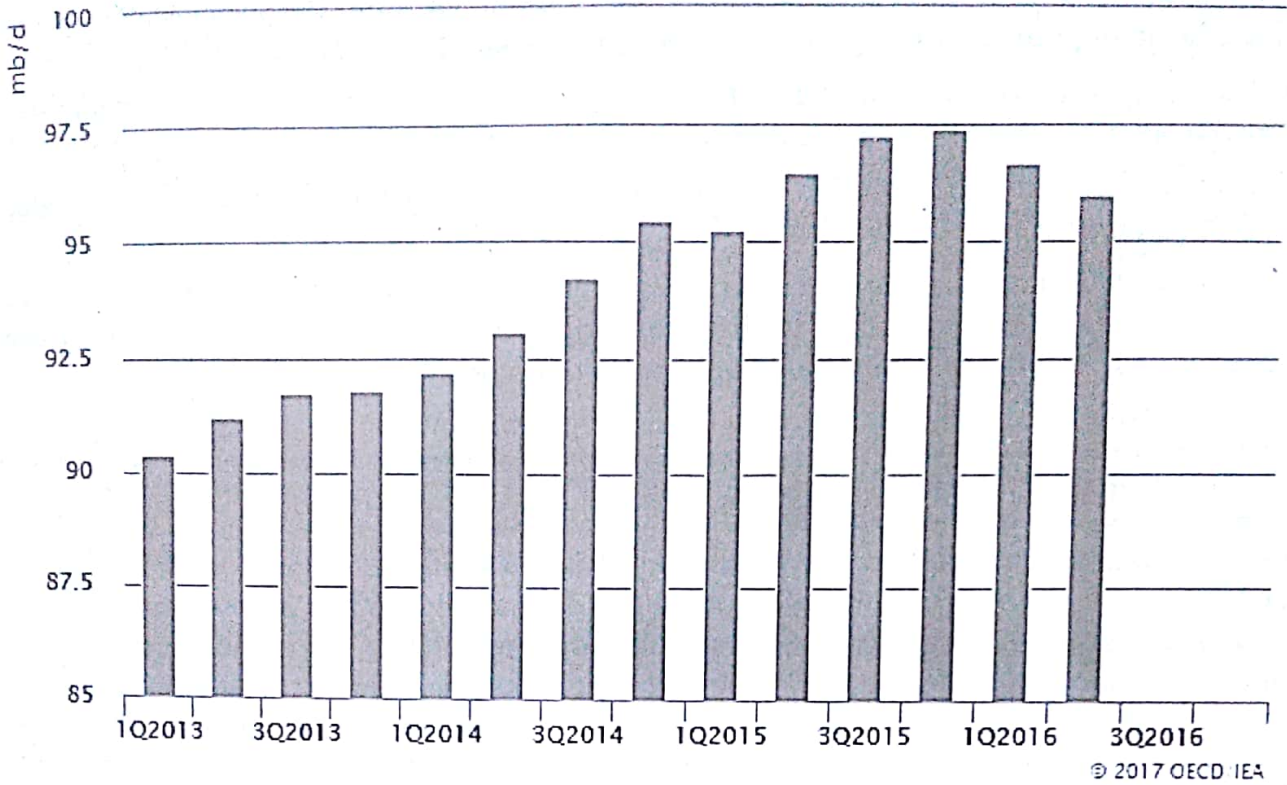


From 2001-2010, world oil demand increased by a compounded average growth rate of 1.4 percent. In that decade, demand faced two years of negative increases in 2008 and 2009, as a consequence of the global financial crisis, and two years of spikes, when it exceeded a 3 percent growth year-on-year: in 2003, due to a recovery after two years of poor increases, and in 2010, when it bounced back after the financial turmoil. In any case, the average growth of demand registered in the 2000s was remarkably similar with that of 1990s.

- Supply also has doubled. Therefore, net price variations do not express significant shifts in the supply/demand ratio. The figure below shows world oil supply.

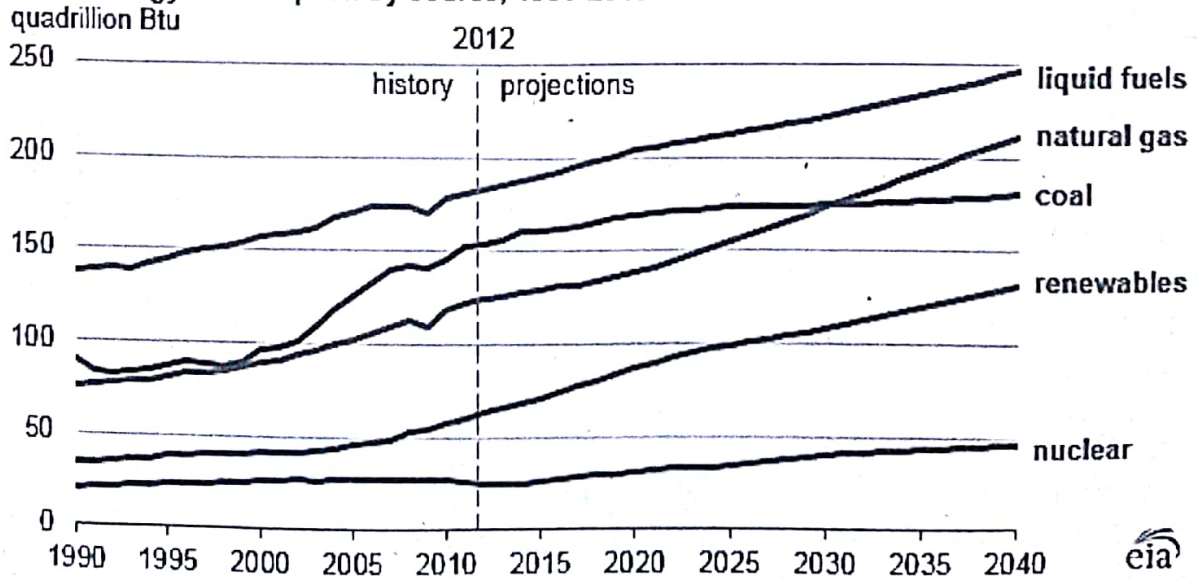


World Oil Supply



- Energy **consumption** worldwide is projected to grow to nearly **100mbd** by 2020. The breakdown of principal consumers indicates a significant shift in regional shares represented by the drastic increase in use by the rapidly developing economies of Asia. China alone accounted for nearly 50% of the global rise in energy consumption between 1990 and 2008.

World energy consumption by source, 1990-2040



- The largest contribution to increases in supply as well as demand stems from dramatic changes in China – by far. The second largest production increase has occurred in the United States. Oil production in the United States has risen to nearly 11 million barrels per day, placing it second only

to Saudi Arabia. It is expected to surpass Saudi Arabia in the next few years. US production has increased at a rate of 7% per annum – due primarily to the rapid exploitation of shale oil. Moreover, a more dramatic expansion of natural gas extraction using hydraulic fracturing has meant that North American energy production is growing faster than another other region.

5. On a regional basis, the main changes are a decline of 19% in the share of OECD countries, a 12% increased share in China and a 6.5% increase elsewhere in Asia.
6. In the oil sector, regional shares have been relatively constant with a 5% decline in the Middle East share being the only noteworthy change
7. The United States imports 45% of the oil it consumes. That is a drop from the high of 54 % reached in 2006. In 1973, it imported 23%. In absolute terms, U.S. imports have declined by 17% from 2006 to 2012. The IEA forecasts the United States becoming a net oil exporter by 2030.
8. Fossil fuels will remain dominant in the global energy mix between today and 2035.

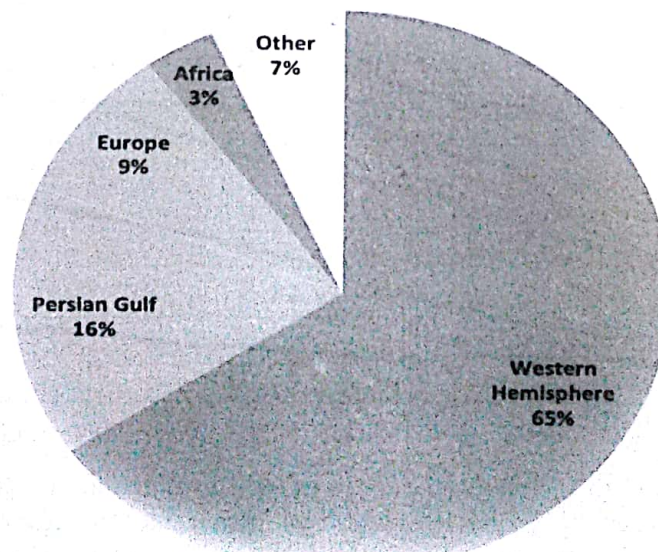
## IMPORTANT ACTORS IN GLOBAL ENERGY POLITICS

The stakeholders motivated by a combination of political and economic/energy concerns include: **Russia** bent on maximizing its influence in the region and beyond via its own energy exports and control of distribution networks; **Turkey** which harbors an ambition to become an energy hub as well as to secure energy for its own development; the **European Union** seeking to expand and diversify sources of energy; and the **United States** which sees its global position and political interests, as well as energy security, bound up with all these developments; **China** which is at pains to ensure constant energy supply to run its industries.

### 1. America: the greatest player in Global Energy Politics

America is **world's largest economy** of about \$18 trillion. Being a sole super power of the contemporary world it has enduring global commitments. America is world's **biggest consumer** of oil with **21 million barrels per day** which is highest in the world with **65% of total global consumption** of energy.

Sources of U.S. oil imports, Dec. 2014 - May 2015





North America is the **largest consumer** of oil regionally, followed by Asia (primarily Japan), Europe, and then other world regions. Importing over 13.5 million barrels of oil per day, the U.S. is easily the **world's largest oil importer**, accounting for over 63% of total U.S. daily consumption. One of Washington's primary energy security concerns has been to **diversify its sources of foreign oil**. During the 1970s oil crisis, the United States imported one-third of its petroleum. Now, it imports approximately 11.4 million barrels per day of petroleum (which includes crude oil and petroleum products), amounting to 45 percent of all petroleum consumed in America. While most of its foreign oil comes from the western hemisphere, a sizable portion comes from Africa and the Persian Gulf. Despite the fact that America's reliance on foreign oil has decreased since its peak in 2005, it is still vulnerable to supply disruptions, oil price shocks and OPEC supply squeezing. For Washington, the need to decrease its vulnerability to foreign oil is a principle national security interest, and the solution lies in diversifying imports away from overreliance on any one region.

**a. US interests in Middle East**

The US dependence on Middle East oil is about 17%. The US interest in Middle East oil is securing the flow of affordable oil for itself and its allies. The U.S. strategy of dual containment of Iran and Iraq, designed to ensure that neither Iraq nor Iran is capable of threatening neighboring Gulf countries, was inextricably linked to Washington's oil policy. The Gulf War made clear the U.S. commitment to the security of Kuwait and other Gulf states. Moreover, a few analysts relate 2003 invasion of Iraq to oil. After the discovery of shale reserves, the US is no more completely dependent on Middle-eastern oil, but it has to secure the continuous supplies for its allies like Japan. Moreover, it has to oppose China's dominance. "Oil from the Middle East (specifically, the Persian Gulf) accounts for 17 percent of U.S. oil imports, and this dependence is growing," wrote Heritage Foundation researcher Ariel Cohen.

**b. US interests in Africa**

China's interest in Africa is not well received by America. Both China and the US are trying to broaden and deepen their influence in Africa, with China dominating the continent economically. West African oil remains strategically important for U.S. policy makers, especially since it provides an alternative to Persian Gulf oil. West Africa is also geographically closer, making transportation less costly than oil from the Persian Gulf. The high-quality sweet crude that is produced by the Gulf of Guinea states is crucial to the U.S. market. As such, oil corporations are doing whatever they can to secure this important hydrocarbon and Washington is fervently promoting free trade in Africa in order to make it easier for them. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to two of the largest oil-producing states: Nigeria and Angola. These two states account for 53 percent and 26 percent of total U.S. petroleum imports from Sub-Saharan Africa respectively. Thus, it is no surprise that the two states also receive the largest share of U.S. security assistance to Africa.

In order to boost its influence in Africa and secure the loyalty of governments, the U.S. has provided military arms and developed military training programs with individual African governments. To increase its military presence, it has acquired basing rights and access to airfields in Djibouti, Uganda, Mali, Senegal and Gabon, along with port facilities in Morocco and Tunisia. In addition, it has also expanded its covert intelligence operations across Africa in the name of combating terrorism. Yet, these operations also serve another purpose. By expanding its military presence in Africa, Washington is reminding its rivals that it is both willing and able to respond to threats to its strategic interests, the likes of which include the unimpeded flow of African oil.



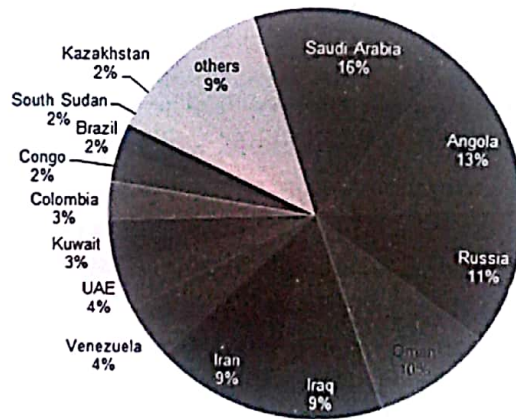
In addition, Africa's political environment can be as unstable as the Persian Gulf. Internal instability, the rise of transnational terrorist networks, military coups, civil strife, endemic corruption and the conflict-stricken Niger Delta all pose significant problems for business operations in the African continent.

America must show restraint in its expansion into Africa. While a military conflict with China over access to African oil may seem presently unrealistic- especially given America and China's mutual economic dependence- future regional developments and the further militarization of the region could shift the Sino-American rivalry into a more adversarial direction. The 'military security paradox' is an important lesson to be learned by the great powers. Militarizing a region in the pursuit of regional stability and security can often have the opposite effect. Only time will tell if Washington and Beijing heed this warning.

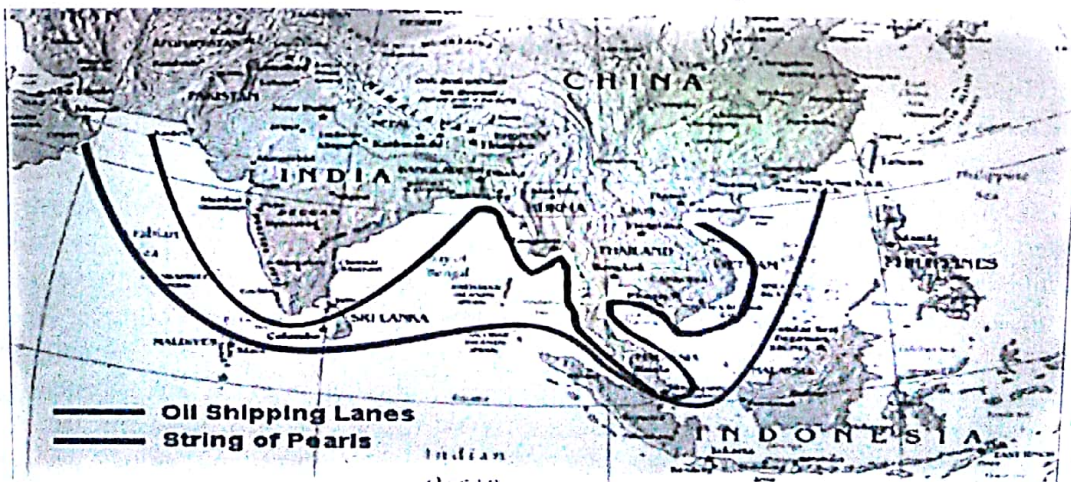
**2. China: An Important Player in Global Energy Politics**

China is world's second largest economy with a GDP of about \$11trillion. It has 8mn barrels per day of consumption. Its economy with Growth rate 9% for years and now at 7% poses China as an important global player in energy politics. China is projected to be the largest economy by 2042, and to achieve that it has to ensure continuous and secure supply of energy for its booming economy.

China's crude oil imports by source, 2014



Sources: FACTS Global Energy, Global Trade Information Services, Inc.





**a. China and its Policy Concerns in Middle East**

China these days is consumed with concerns about domestic stability. Notwithstanding this internal preoccupation, the Middle Kingdom's increasing appetite for Persian Gulf oil has sparked unprecedented Chinese interest in the Middle East. Some of this is fueled too by Washington's "pivot to Asia" and less American dependence on Persian Gulf oil.

China imports nearly 55% of its oil from the Persian Gulf, and it has long benefited from the U.S. security umbrella there. One Chinese analyst went so far as to describe the long-standing U.S. aircraft carrier presence there as a "public good." But these days Beijing is concerned about what the Trump administration's U.S. presence in the Middle East means for energy and regional security. Closer to home, the Chinese worry about the impact of rising Islamism on the state's restive Muslim population in the gas-rich western province of Xinjiang.

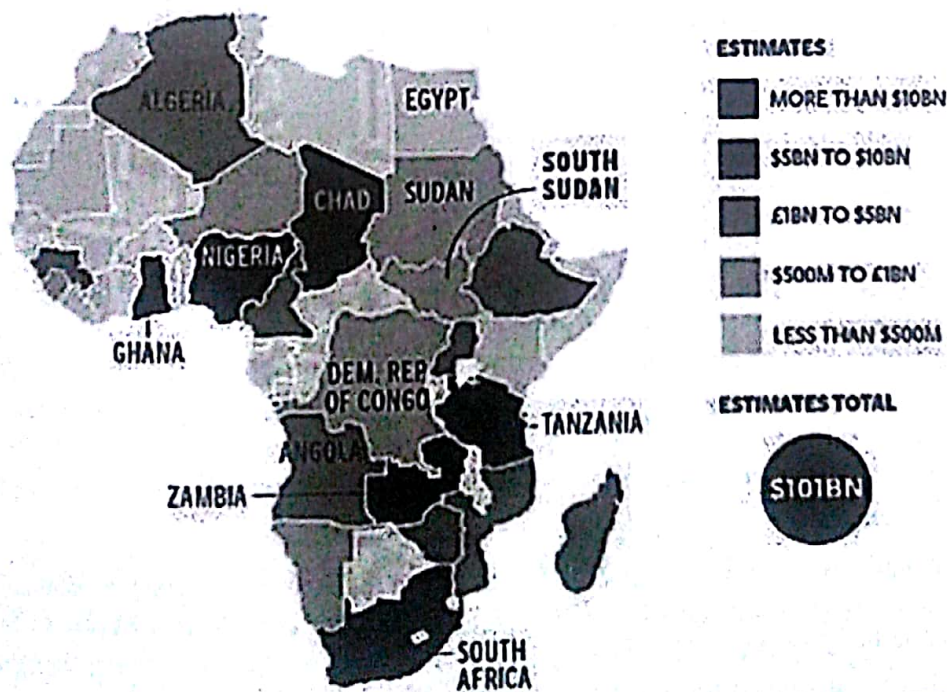
Beijing is also projecting soft power in the Middle East, making a concerted effort to increase trade and investment, especially in the energy sector. China and Gulf Cooperation Council GCC states are negotiating a free-trade agreement. State-owned Chinese companies are building joint-venture refineries in Saudi Arabia and have secured contracts to construct mosques—including a \$1.5-billion shrine—in oil-rich Algeria.

This new activism is not motivated by altruism. Beijing's priority is to secure ongoing access to Middle Eastern energy. At the same time, it doesn't want to see Iran go nuclear.

**b. Chinese energy interests in Africa and its impact on global energy politics**

China's influence is greater in Africa, especially from the economic side. The US does roughly about 85 billion dollars a year in trade with Africa while China does 200 billion dollars in trade with Africa. So China is already dominating the continent economically. Moreover, 1mn Chinese have moved to Africa in past decade which provides China leverage in African continent. China's interest in Africa is also due to low cost oil exploration there.

**CHINESE INVESTMENT IN AFRICA SINCE 2010**



SOURCE: CHINA BUSINESS REVIEW



Africa has low cost exploration regions with many natural resources, specifically petroleum. So countries like Angola, Nigeria – these are on the radar of both the US and China. Of course the two countries take different approaches to Africa. US is very much in a military effort in Africa, Nigeria is suffering from the insurgency of the Boko Haram group in the North, US has troops on the ground trying to help Nigerian local forces to combat this, whereas the Chinese presence in Nigeria is mostly in the South, in the oil-producing regions.

China's deepening integration into the global economy and emergence as an economic power has seen its influence expand in Africa, reshaping political and economic relationships on the continent and heightening concern in the United States that China's rise could challenge the U.S.' traditional economic and security interests in the region. China has a long history of political links in Africa, but the relatively recent growth of China's economic and security links in the region pose both challenges and opportunities that will require complex and sensitive diplomatic efforts.

c. **China's Interest in South China Sea**

China's involvement in the South China sea by making artificial islands, equipped with naval bases and modern defense systems, is intended at gaining control over this part of the sea which holds great oil and gas reserves as well as minerals such as magnetite, zircon, monazite, tin, gold, and chromite. One-third of the world's shipping passes through it carrying \$3 trillion in trade each year making it extremely significant in geopolitical sense. South China Sea has long been considered as a flashpoint for regional tensions in East and South East Asia for the reason that all the nearby states, China in particular want to get hold of all the natural resources in the sea.

3. **Russia: An Important Player in Global Energy Politics**

Russia holds the world's largest proven reserves of natural gas and continually alternates with Saudi Arabia as the top oil producer. The country supplies a third of Europe's oil and natural gas and is starting to export more to the energy-hungry East Asian markets. The energy sector is far more than a commercial asset for Moscow; it has been one of the pillars of Russia's stabilization and increasing strength for more than a century. The Kremlin has designated energy security as the primary issue for Russia's national security, especially since recent changes in global and domestic trends have cast doubts on the energy sector's continuing strength.

Throughout Russian history, the country's energy sector periodically has strengthened and weakened. Managing this cycle has been a centerpiece of Russia's domestic and foreign policy since czarist times. This historical burden now rests on Vladimir Putin's regime.

Against the backdrop of instability in the global energy industry, Russia is seeking to consolidate its share of the oil and gas markets as well as ensure that its revenue stream from the oil trade does not thin out. With that in mind, Russia pursues a policy of engaging its natural rivals in the industry from the Middle East with the aim of dividing up the markets fairly and on mutually beneficial principles. Moscow negotiated an almost-impossible deal with Saudi Arabia to cut oil output and made peace with Turkey against all odds in order to protect its interests in the European gas market. These steps show that despite remaining 'frenemies' Russia and its regional counterparts find ways to maintain a balance in the global energy market.

In this context, Russia's so-called **energy pivot to Asia** is a two-fold strategy whose objective is to make the country's long-term energy planning more **sustainable** and **predictable**. China is the key pillar of this concept in East Asia, but Turkey arguably plays a crucial role in allowing Russia to expand its energy ambitions not only in Europe but also in the Middle East.



The European Union, with 28 members make up the world's largest natural gas imports market, has been among Russia's most stable clients, importing up to 40 percent of its gas and 36 percent of crude from the country. The Baltic countries, as well as some states in Central Europe, until very recently imported all of their gas from Russia, making them fully dependent on its supplies and the political expectations attached. Following the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, the EU imposed several rounds of sanctions against Moscow and embarked on a plan to break its dependence on Russian energy resources by diversifying its portfolio of suppliers.

#### 4. Central Asian States: Arena of New Great Game

Among the former Soviet Republics that have become independent, major producers of oil and natural gas are: Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. These are **Energy rich**. They are experiencing varying, and fluctuating degrees of political stability. All have perpetuating the authoritarian patterns and personalized leadership inherited from the old USSR. Their relative poverty has meant that issues of financing exploration and development have come to the fore. Their relatively **limited access to sophisticated technology** creates an analogous need for foreign assistance. Here the competition arises. The tug of war to reach the natural resources of the Central Asian Republics is generally called the **Great Game** with a number of regional as well as extra-regional states trying to secure their respective interests. The location in the interior of the Asian landmass heightens issues of export distribution via pipelines. The routing of pipelines is a contentious matter involving the economic interests of large and energy hungry nations of Japan, China and India. All nations including the US, Russia, China and India are competing to gain access to CARs resources.

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## ENERGY SECURITY: GREAT CHALLENGE IN GLOBAL ENERGY POLITICS

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Political instability of several energy producing countries has compelled world leaders to take the question of energy security very seriously. **Energy security – in simplest terms – can be defined as the dependable provision of the energy resources requisite for meeting a country's needs.** Over-exploitation and manipulation of energy supplies, has further put a question mark on energy security for future. The growing competition over energy sources, has made energy an arena of political competition among states. Recent surge in attacks on supply infrastructure, as well as accidents, natural disasters, and transnational terrorism are other major threats to energy security, especially alarming situation in Middle East and rise of ISIS has jeopardized energy security of this region. Foreign oil supplies are vulnerable to unnatural disruptions from intra state conflict, exporters' interests, and non-state actors targeting the supply and transportation of oil resources. The political and economic instability caused by war or other factors such as strike action can also prevent the proper functioning of the energy industry in a supplier country. The 1973 oil embargo against the United States is a historical example in which oil supplies were cut off to the United States due to U.S. support of Israel during the Yom Kippur War.

One of the worst risks to oil transportation is the exposure of the five ocean **chokepoints**. New threats to energy security have emerged in the form of the increased world competition for energy resources due to the increased pace of industrialization in countries such as India and China. Increased competition over energy resources may also lead to the formation of security compacts to enable an equitable distribution of oil and gas between major powers. However, this may happen at the expense of less developed economies. The Group of Five, precursors to the G8, first met in 1975 to coordinate economic and energy policies in the wake of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, a rise in inflation and a global



economic slowdown. NATO leaders meeting in Bucharest, Romania, in April 2008 discussed the possibility of using the military alliance "as an instrument of energy security". Placing troops in the Caucasus region to police oil and gas pipelines is also under consideration of NATO leaders to ensure energy security.

## FACTSHEET

### World Energy Reserves

No	Country	Oil (billion barrels)	Gas(trillion cubic feet)	Coal (million ton)	Nuclear
1	Venezuela	297,6	196,4	479	
2	Saudi Arabia	265,9	290,8		NPP
3	Canada	173,9	70	6.582	
4	Iran	157	1.187,3		NPP, R&D
5	Iraq	150	126,7		
6	UAE	97,8	215,1		NPP
7	Rusia	87	1.163	157	NPP, ICBM
8	Amerika	35	300	237,3	NPP, ICBM
9	Qatar	23,9	885,1		
10	China	17,3	109,3	11.450	NPP

*British Petroleum Statistik & IAEA*

### 10 Largest Oil-Producing Countries

No	Country	Production	Percentage
1	Russia	544 Mt	13%
2	Saudi Arabia	520 Mt	13%
3	United States of America	387 Mt	9%
4	China	206 Mt	5%
5	Iran	186 Mt	4%
6	Canada	182 Mt	4%
7	UEA	163 Mt	4%
8	Venezuela	162 Mt	4%
9	Kuwait	152 Mt	4%
10	Iraq	148 Mt	4%

*International Energy Agency (IEA)*





### Introduction

The rising importance of International Political Economy (IPE) as a field of study is a result of the persistent breakdown of disciplinary boundaries among the social sciences in general and between economics and politics in particular. It is the rapidly evolving field of study that attempts to understand international issues using a varied interdisciplinary collection of analytical tools and theoretical perspectives. IPE includes the study of large policy issues such as political inequality within and between countries and across time. It includes the examination of financial booms and busts and of financial crises. IPE is the study of a **problématique**, or **set of related problems**. The traditional IPE problématique includes: The Political Economy Of International Trade, International Finance, North-South Relations, Transnational Enterprises, and Hegemony. This problématique has been widened in recent years to issues raised by globalization and climate change. IPE is concerned with the interface between international economics and international politics. When researching international affairs, economists usually focus on the international economy, while international relations scholars tend to concentrate on political. In recent decades, however, a new focus has arisen in both these disciplines and among their practitioners on the many ways in which politics and economics are interlinked. Indeed, the study of international political economy is based on the assumption that in order to understand patterns of interaction and change at the global level, we need to look at both international politics and economics in an integrated manner. The aim of this course is to promote understanding of the interaction between politics and economics in international relations, the sources of change in international political economy, the challenges faced by states in an era of global economic integration and fragmentation.

### International Economics and International Politics

The interaction of International Politics and International Economics is today widely practiced among states in monetary matters, which in turn affect the environment in which nations make political choices and economic decisions. Yet scholars and policy-makers often think about International Economics without much attention to International Politics. Economists often assume away state interests while political scientists sometimes fail to look beyond the nation-state. Two noteworthy Cold War era exceptions to this rule stand out: economist Charles Kindleberger's work on hegemony and political scientist Kenneth Waltz's attempt to integrate economics into politics.



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## KEY EVENTS IN IPE'S DEVELOPMENT AS A FIELD OF STUDY

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Two dramatic events in the 1970s showed how strongly international economics and politics were intertwined. These posed practical and theoretical problems that necessarily forced scholars and policy-makers to consider economics and politics together. These were:

1. The Oil Embargoes of the 1970s
2. Breakdown of the Bretton Woods Monetary System

The rise of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the Arab oil embargo of 1973-74 illustrated dramatically the power and influence of economic tools in foreign policy. Hardly any state could make political policy without considering possible foreign economic retaliation. It revealed the complex interdependence between and among domestic politics, domestic economics, international politics, and international economics. Further, it raised questions about the role of multinational corporations (MNCs) in international economics and politics. MNCs had previously been viewed by many scholars as agents of influence of their home country governments (this was especially true of US-based MNCs), but now their political allegiance appeared to be more ambiguous. Were the oil MNCs tools of their western home governments, agents of their OPEC host governments, or were they acting as pure economic actors independent of home or host political ties? Besides, the shifting international payments flows that the oil embargo stimulated were the start of the movement towards a global financial system and, with it, economic globalization generally. Increasingly, economic and political problems would be seen as global, not just international, and beyond the control of individual nation-states.

The **breakdown of the Bretton Woods system** in the 1970s also contributed to the emergency of International Political Economy as a distinct field of study. The Bretton Woods system is usually understood as a **system of economic governance** built to support U.S. hegemony in the postwar era. All Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank, the IMF, and the GATT—depended upon the US to play a central leadership role. On August 15, 1971, however, US President **Richard Nixon** suspended the link between US dollar and gold, which was the critical element of the Bretton Woods monetary system, thus changing everything. The **fixed exchange rate system** that had defined world money in the postwar era soon **collapsed**. More importantly, Nixon's policy was seen as a sign that the US had put its domestic political and economic problems ahead of its international responsibilities. The decline of US hegemony was both political and economic in both cause and consequence.

The **rise of OPEC** and the **decline of US hegemony** were just two events that broke down the artificial division of International Economics and International Politics that had in some respects characterized the Bretton Woods era. Moreover, subsequent events—**Third World debt crisis**, the **fall of communist regimes**, the **rise of the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICS)**, the **expansion of the European Union**, and the **financial crises in Mexico, Russia, and East Asia**—pushed for the development of IPE. These showed that simple divisions between state and market, domestic and international, and politics and economics were no longer appropriate to a wide range of issues. An increasingly complex world required a complex approach to analysis, which IPE provided.

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## SCHOOLS OF THOUGHTS OF IPE

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1. The **'liberal'** view believes in freedom for private powers at the expense of public power (government). It asserts that markets, free from the distortions caused by government controls and regulation, naturally will harmonize demand and supply of scarce resources resulting in the best possible world for populations at large.



2. The 'realist' view (formerly commonly labelled "nationalist") accepts the power of free markets to deliver favorable outcomes, but holds that optimum conditions generally are obtained with moderately strong public power exerting some regulatory control.
3. The 'Marxist' view believes that only robust application of strong public power can check innate tendencies for private power to benefit elites at the expense of populations at large.
4. The 'constructivist' view assumes that the domain of international economic interactions is not value-free, and that economic and political identities, in addition to material interests, are significant determinants of economic action.

	Main Actors	Main Goal	View of Relationships	Classic Authors
Liberalism	Individuals	Individual Liberty	Positive-Sum	Adam Smith, David Ricardo
Realism	Nation-States	National Security	Zero-Sum	Thomas Hobbes, Friedrich List
Marxism	Classes	Emancipation	Exploitative	Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels

Realism applied to the economic realm is more commonly known as **mercantilism**

## THE IPE PROBLÉMATIQUE

IPE in the 1970s and 1980s was centered in the International Relations community. In this period, five sets of questions dominated the agenda: international trade, international finance, North-South relations, MNCs, and the problem of hegemony. A sixth concern — globalization — was added to the list in the 1990s. Since the 2000s, IPE has devoted attention to global threats and crises, including climate change and worldwide financial instability.

### International Trade

Politics and Economics see international trade from different viewpoints using different analytical bases. Territory and population, which are the relatively stable factors, define states; while markets have no defined geographical boundaries. They are not confined within the states and a few are Global. They are defined by exchange and the extent of the forward and backward linkages that derive there from. When trade within a market involves buyers and sellers in different states, it becomes international trade and subjected to political inquiry. For instance, national interest of a country can be in conflict with international trade. International trade has always been at the center of IPE analysis and is likely to remain so in the future. It is a mirror that reflects each era's most important state-market tensions. In the Cold War, for example, international trade was simultaneously a structure of US hegemony and a tool of East-West strategy. In the 1980s and 1990s, trade through regional economic integration was a tool to consolidate regional interests. With the advent of globalization and the creative economy powered by information technologies, trade in intellectual property rights became a controversial IPE issue.

### International Finance

The IPE of International Finance includes analysis of exchange rate policies, foreign exchange systems, international capital movements, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Some issues of current importance in IPE studies of finance include: political struggles over how to respond to the post-2007 global financial crisis; how the complexity of financial markets affects economic stability; and debates over how states should regulate financial markets.

### Hegemony

The theory of **hegemonic stability** was IPE's most significant theory. A **hegemon** is a powerful state that supplies goods to the international system. These goods include stable money, security (such as freedom of the seas), and a system of free trade that can be shared by all. Providing these goods is costly, but the



hegemon gains even if it bears the expense alone. If the world system prospers, the hegemon necessarily prospers as well. In fact, this provision of public goods may be a strategy to secure or extend the hegemon's dominant position.

The theory of hegemonic stability says that the world system is most prosperous when a hegemon exists to organize the international political and economic system and coordinate the provision of international public goods. Periods of Dutch (1620-72), British (1815-73), and U.S. (post-1945) hegemony are commonly cited as evidence of this link between hegemony and prosperity. When hegemony breaks down, the international system falls into disorder and conflict, with the resulting decline in peace and prosperity.

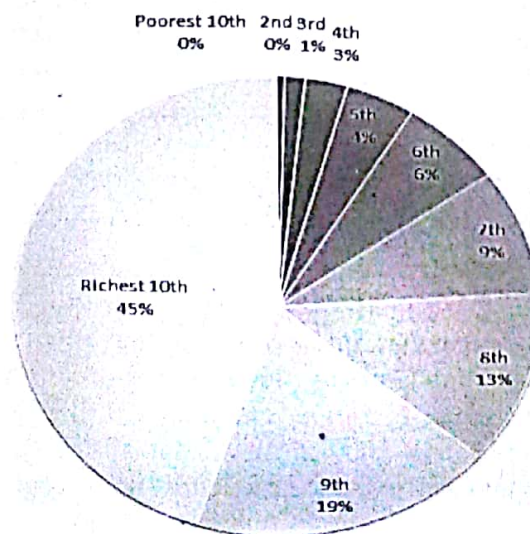
Some scholars argue that hegemony is a self-defeating and therefore temporary condition. While the hegemonic state bears the burdens of organizing the international system and supplying public goods, free-rider states prosper and increase the burdens on the hegemon. At some point the hegemon finds itself over-committed and unable to bear the costs of the system it has created. Either it begins to put domestic interests over its international obligations or it becomes too weak to honor its widespread commitments. Britain's decline in the late 19th century and early 20th century is an example of this dynamic. The Iron Curtain's fall in 1989 can also be seen as the implosion of Soviet hegemony over Central and Eastern Europe.

Hegemony is concept that focused on security. One important question in IPE today is whether China will challenge U.S. hegemony and threaten the liberal international order. Another is whether Germany will move to establish itself as a hegemon within the European Union.

### North-South Relations

The Cold War analysis of **less-developed countries (LDCs)** was focused on the East-West bipolar alliances and the place of LDCs in geopolitical strategy. LDCs were strategic pawns in the Big Power Cold War game. As international trade and international finance were increasingly used to expand and strengthen the Cold War alliances (especially but not exclusively on the western side), IPE scholars pursued the impact of economic relations generally on LDCs. Or, in the terms associated with Immanuel Wallerstein, they probed the relationship between **Core** and **Periphery**. Theories stand out as milestones on the road to an IPE of North-South relations are **Modern World Systems theory** and **Dependency Theory**

How is wealth shared in Great Britain?



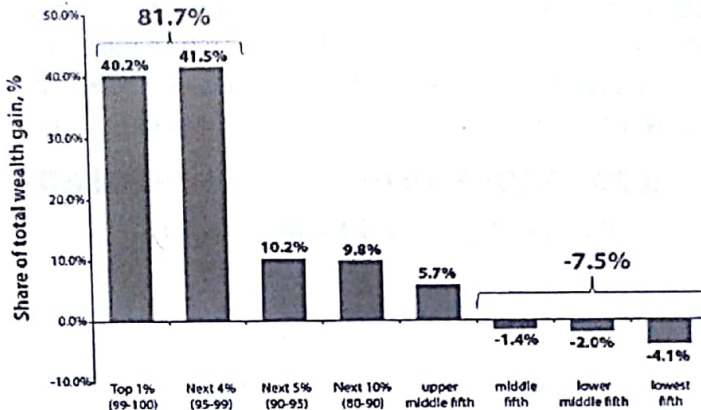
The IPE *problématique* therefore expanded to economic development, an analysis of **neo-colonialism** and **imperialism**, and a general study of **Core-Periphery relations**. Security and geopolitical issues were not excluded from this North-South analysis; they merely lost the privileged position that they enjoyed in



traditional International Relations research. In recent years, IPE scholars have focused on sustainable development, the reasons why failed states have formed, and how the rise of the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) is reshaping North-South relations.

Nowadays, there is evident North South divide with 20% of developed and 80% of developing countries existing in world. 95% of North has enough food, shelter and education system. While, only 5% of South has these facilities. North roughly quarters the world's population with 4/5 of world's income. 95% manufacturing industries are owned by North while South has possession on raw material. It shows concentration of wealth in hands of few.

Share of total wealth gain, 1983-2009



Source: Mishel analysis of Wolff in Allegretto (2010)

### Multinational Corporations

Multinational corporations (MNCs)—also called **transnational corporations**—have always been objects of interest to IPE scholars and practitioners. During the Cold War, MNCs were often viewed as being linked with their home government by an "invisible handshake." The home country government created opportunities for these businesses and opened markets abroad for them. The businesses, in turn, advanced the economic and political interests of their home country.

With the end of the Cold War, analysis of MNC quickly spread beyond their role in Cold War geopolitics. The rise of Asia's newly-industrializing countries and the increasing globalization of production and finance spurred research on the role of MNCs in the allocation of capital and the control of technology. It became apparent that some MNCs undertook business strategies that were not obviously in the interest of their home country. The distinction between home country and host country also grew less clear. All countries are now host countries in the sense that all countries compete for capital, technology, and jobs in the global market.

IPE scholars have increasingly directed their research towards developing an IPE of Global Value Chains (GVCs) or Global Commodity Chain (GCC). GVCs are complex networks that link independent businesses into a coordinated production and distribution process. New information technology allows firms to coordinate their activities to an extent that was previously possible only within a large enterprise, thereby facilitating the expansion of GVCs. Companies like Nike, Apple, and Wal-Mart coordinate vast GVCs; they focus on design, marketing, logistics, and retailing. Much of the actual manufacturing of products has been outsourced to independent firms in countries such as China, Vietnam, and Malaysia. The IPE of global value chains challenges our understanding of both markets and states and represents an advancing frontier of IPE research.

### Globalization

At the heart of the concept is the notion that the world is 'shrinking' in the sense that it is growing together more and more as a consequence of an increasingly dense network of interactions. The sociologist

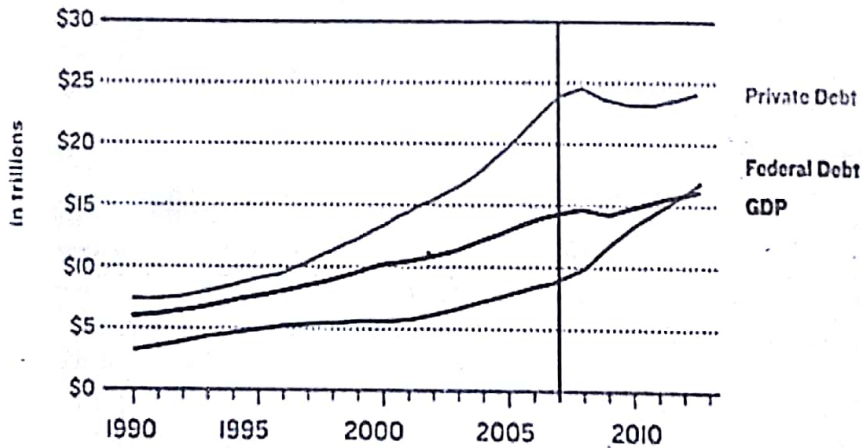


Anthony Giddens, for example, refers to 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. Robert Cox, on the other hand, sees a more explicitly economic logic at work, pointing to 'the internationalizing of production, the new international division of labor, new migratory movements from the South to North and the new competitive environment that accelerates these processes

CASE STUDIES

Global financial crisis is worse example that is known well as Great Depression. The reason of crises was recession started from US. People took loans from banks through credit cards which were converted into bad debt. With the passage of time loads increased as there was no down payment as well as verification procedure. It relinquished unemployment up to 17% in 2011 which is highest in last 55 years history of US. It impacted world as whole. The growth forecasts in Cambodia show a fall from more than 10% in 2007 to close to zero in 2009, and Kenya may achieve only 3-4% growth in 2009, down from 7% in 2007.

**Crisis of 2007-2008, United States: Nominal GDP, Private Debt, and Federal Debt**



Sources: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Federal Reserve, Treasury Department

**Asian Financial Crisis**

Asian financial crisis, was major global financial crisis that destabilized the Asian economy and then the world economy at the end of the 1990s. The 1997-98 Asian financial crisis began in Thailand and then quickly spread to neighboring economies. It began as a currency crisis when Bangkok unpegged the Thai baht from the U.S. dollar, setting off a series of currency devaluations and massive flights of capital. In the first six months, the value of the Indonesian rupiah was down by 80 percent, the Thai baht by more than 50 percent, the South Korean won by nearly 50 percent, and the Malaysian ringgit by 45 Percent. Collectively, the economies most affected saw a drop in capital inflows of more than \$100 billion in the first year of the crisis. Significant in terms of both its magnitude and its scope, the Asian financial crisis became a global crisis when it spread to the Russian and Brazilian economies.

**Conclusion**

The importance of IPE in these days cannot be ruled out as the violent issues nowadays take place mainly inside states and this violence is bound up with problems of development and underdevelopment. IPE also addresses the issues of sovereign statehood. IPE opens up new dimensions of research so the significance is always higher than ever.

CHAPTER

36

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

GLOBAL AGE CURRENT AFFAIRS

Introduction

International development agenda has been actively led by the United Nations (UN) and its technical agencies and funds since their inception in the late 1940s. Till 1990s, the approach was fragmented and disjointed initiated by its specialized agencies or funds at various World Summits and Conferences to address three dimensions of development — economic, social, and environmental. The Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) saw the convergence of development agenda of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP); World health organization (WHO); United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and other development agencies. Recently adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reflect further strengthening convergence of the development agenda. The SDGs also strengthen equity, human rights, and nondiscrimination.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS



1

ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER



2

ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION



3

PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN



4

REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY



5

IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH



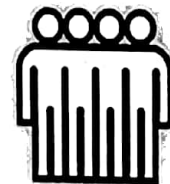
6

COMBAT HIV/AIDS, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES



7

ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

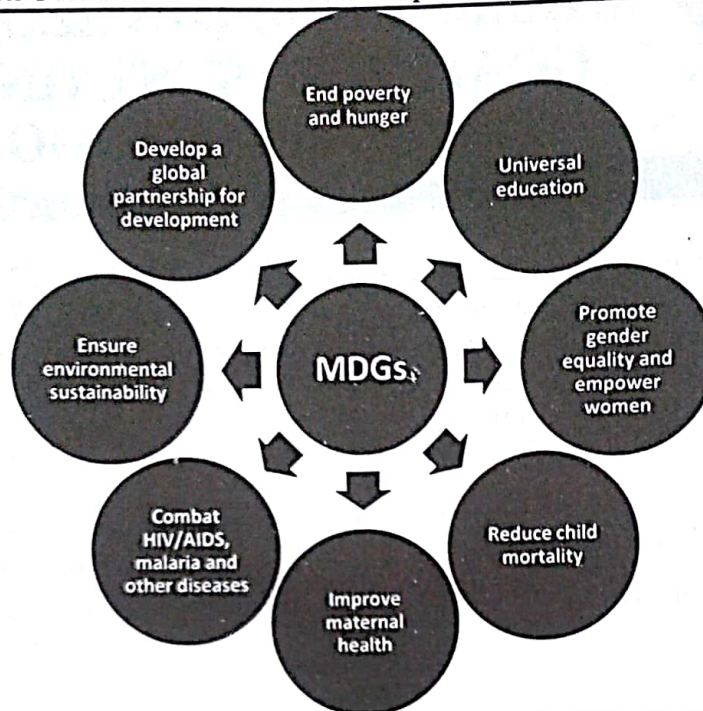


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GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT

In September 2000, leaders of 189 countries gathered at the United Nations headquarters and signed the historic Millennium Declaration, in which they committed to achieving a set of eight measurable goals that range from halving extreme poverty and hunger to promoting gender equality and reducing child mortality, by 2015. The reference year was 1990.





## GLOBAL PROGRESS ON MDGs: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

### Global Progress on MDG Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty

Poverty has declined significantly over the last two decades. Globally the number of people living in poverty has reduced to less than half, i.e., from 1.9 billion to 836 million. In Pakistan however, progress on all the goals are lagging. The UNDP did provide an annual update by collecting and processing data but if the results are anything to go by, it didn't motivate the policy makers enough. In MDG 1, progress on all indicators is lagging. The head count poverty (caloric plus basic needs) in Pakistan, though decreasing from 34% in 2000-01 to 22.3% in 2005-06, is lagging behind the target of 13%. One of the indicators where situation has really worsened in the past 4 years is the proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption which stood at 58% in 2010/11, owing to two-digit inflation (and even higher food inflation) over the last 4 years which has significantly decreased the purchasing power of the poor.

### Global Progress on MDG Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education

The primary school net enrolment rate in the developing regions has reached an estimated 91 per cent in 2015, up from 83 per cent in 2000. The number of out-of-school children of primary school age worldwide has fallen by almost half, to an estimated 57 million in 2015, from 100 million in 2000. Given all the progress still 781 million adults and 126 million youth worldwide lack basic literacy skills and more than 60 per cent of them are women. Pakistan's literacy rate, though having improved marginally over the years remains considerably short of the MDG target of 88% by 2015 at 58%, and closer inspection reveals large gender and rural/urban disparities.

### Global Progress on MDG Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women

About two thirds of countries in the developing regions have achieved gender parity in primary education. In 46 countries, women now hold more than 30 percent of seats in national parliament. Pakistan has also achieved one of the highest ratios of women parliamentarians. Still it can be noted the progress on the whole lagged and a new infrastructure needs to be built around SDGs.

**Global Progress on MDG Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality**

The global under-five mortality rate has declined by more than half, dropping from 90 to 43 deaths per 1,000 live births between 1990 and 2015. In the years 2005 to 2012, the annual rate of reduction in under-five mortality was more than three times faster than between 1990 and 1995. Immunization against measles helped preventing nearly 14 million lives. Pakistan has also achieved its target for the proportion of children under five who suffered from diarrhea. The rest of the targets, upto an extent, were achieved.

**Global Progress on MDG Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health**

Since 1990, the maternal mortality ratio has been cut nearly in half, and most of the reduction has occurred since 2000. Almost 300,000 women died globally in 2013 from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth. Pakistan however was far off from achieving the targets on Goal 5 and needs urgent improvements on maternal mortality ratio and the proportion of births attended by skilled personnel.

**Global Progress on MDG Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases**

New HIV infections fell by approximately 40 percent between 2000 and 2013, from an estimated 3.5 million cases to 2.1 million. Due to recent advancements of Anti-malaria interventions, more than 6.2 million malaria deaths have been averted between 2000 and 2015. Tuberculosis prevention, diagnosis and treatment saved an estimated 37 million lives from 2000 to 2013. Malaria interventions saved the lives of three million young children between 2000 and 2012.

Between 1995 and 2012, tuberculosis treatment saved 22 million lives. In light of MDG 6, as the prevalence of HIV among the population has been historically low, Pakistan has surpassed the target for reducing HIV prevalence among 15-24 years old pregnant women. Progress in the proportion of TB cases detected and cured with ORS.

**Global Progress on MDG Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability**

In 2015, 91 per cent of the global population uses an improved drinking water source but 748 million people still draw their water from an unimproved source. By 2015, 2.1 billion people have gained access to improved sanitation. Population living in slums in the developing regions fell from 39.4% to less than 29.7% but one-third of urban residents in developing regions still live in slums. Protected ecosystems covered 14 per cent of terrestrial and coastal marine areas worldwide by 2012. 1 billion people still resort to open defecation. With regards to MDG 7, Pakistan has achieved the target of access to improved water resources when three sources of improved water are taken into account: tap water, hand pumps and electric motor propelled water.

**Global Progress on MDG Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development**

Official development assistance from developed countries increased by 66 per cent in real terms between 2000 and 2014. 79 per cent of imports from developing to developed countries were admitted duty free. As of 2015, 95 percent of the world's population is covered by a mobile-cellular signal. The proportion of external debt service to export revenue in developing countries fell from 12 percent in 2000 to 3 percent. Only one third of the population in the developing regions use the Internet, compared to 82 per cent in the developed regions. The number of Internet users in Africa almost doubled in the past four years. 80 percent of imports from developing countries enter developed countries duty-free. Goal 8 envisages fostering cooperation at the bilateral and multilateral level for attaining the MDGs in resource constrained countries like Pakistan. Pakistan's current account deficit (almost 5.0 percent of GDP) for an extended period of one decade; rising real cost of borrowing; stagnant exports; and a declining flow of foreign exchange have contributed to an accumulation of external debt in the 1990s. A major contribution to the increase in stock of outstanding debt has stemmed from the financing provided

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by the IMF Standby Agreement. The debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services increased from 14.4 percent in 1990-91 to 28.5 percent in 2010-11.

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## SUMMARY OF PAKISTAN'S PROGRESS ON MDGs

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The **Commonwealth Foundation** has reviewed progress made in terms of achieving MDGs. A report was also prepared for Pakistan based on analysis of several secondary sources including government, UN and other international agencies' assessments as well as consultations with major NGOs. The results indicate that **Pakistan is lagging behind its commitments with respect to almost all the MDGs' indicators**. Pakistan's progress on **poverty alleviation** remains much below the mark. The **food inflation** is reversing steps being taken to eradicate poverty. Moreover, the **global food and fuel price shocks** and the **global financial crisis** have also combined to undermine MDGs' progress across much of the developing world. Major social welfare schemes have limited impact. While **literacy rate** has been increasing since 2000, it is not commensurate with the MDGs target (88 per cent) by the end of 2015. Similarly, Pakistan is still a long way off from ensuring that all girls and boys in the country complete **primary schooling**. The task of achieving **gender parity** within primary and secondary education has also not shown significant progress in terms of health related indicators. While **maternal and child (under five years) mortality rates** have declined, the progress made so far is not sufficient. Pakistan also lags behind in providing **clean drinking water** and **sanitation** to its citizens. They have pledged to protect children, safeguard women's rights and ensure a range of other human rights. Showing the required political will to fulfill these commitments, however, remains problematic. The internal security situation and a spate of natural disasters are repeatedly being quoted by officials to explain the disappointing progress.

Pakistan adopted **16 targets** and **41 indicators** against which progress towards achieving the **Eight Goals** of the MDG's is measured. Time series data available for 33 of these indicators reveal that *Pakistan was on track to achieve the targets on 9 indicators*, whereas its progress on **24 indicators** is off track.

MDG Country Progress Snapshot: Pakistan		Last update: August. 2015	
Goals and Targets	Indicators	Country Progress	
		Level <sup>1</sup>	Chart
<b>Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger</b>			
Reduce extreme poverty by half	Proportion of population living below \$1.25 (PPP) per day (%)	moderate poverty	
Reduce hunger by half	Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption (%)	moderately high hunger	
<b>Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education</b>			
Universal primary schooling	Net enrolment ratio in primary education (enrolees per 100 children)	low enrolment	
<b>Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women</b>			
Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	Ratio of girls to boys in primary education	away from parity	
Women's share of paid employment	Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (%)	low share	
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament (single or lower house only - %)	moderate representation	
<b>Goal 4: Reduce child mortality (New data will be available in late September 2015)</b>			
Reduce mortality of under-five-year-old by two thirds	Under-five mortality rate (deaths of children per 1,000 births)	high mortality	



**Goal 5: Improve maternal health (New data will be available in late September 2015)**

Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters	Maternal mortality ratio (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)	moderate mortality	
Access to universal reproductive health	Contraceptive prevalence rate (percentage of women aged 15-49, married or in union, using contraception)	low access to reproductive health	
	Unmet need for family planning (percentage of women aged 15-49, married or in union, with unmet need for family planning)		

**Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases**

Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	HIV incidence rate (number of new HIV infections per year per 100 people aged 15-49)	low incidence	
Halt and reverse spread of tuberculosis	Incidence rate and death rate associated with tuberculosis	moderate mortality	

**Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability**

Reverse loss of forests	Proportion of land area covered by forest (%)	low forest cover	
Halve proportion without improved drinking water	Proportion of population using an improved drinking water source (%)	high coverage	
Halve proportion without sanitation	Proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility (%)	low coverage	
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	Proportion of urban population living in slums (%)	high proportion of slum-dwellers	

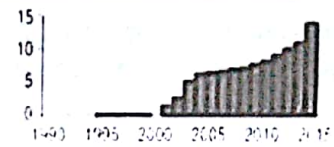


Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Internet users

Internet users per 100 inhabitants

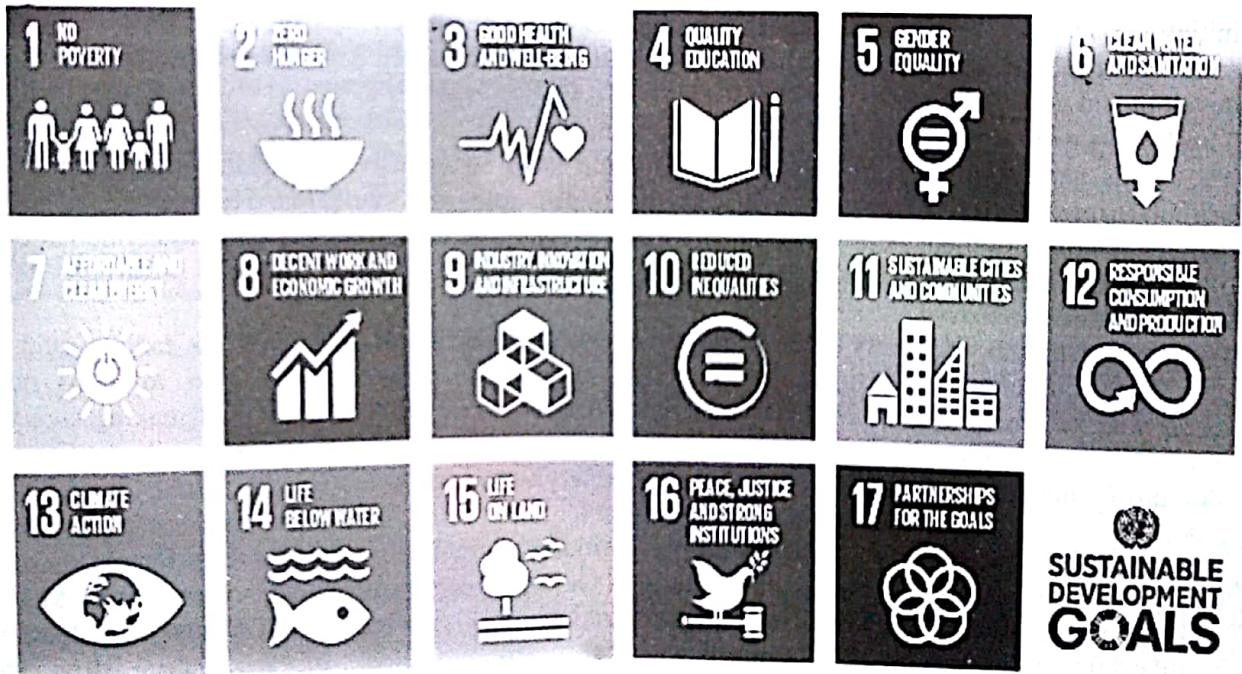
moderate usage



## PROGRESS IN MDGS AND BUILD UP FOR SDGS

The MDGs generated new and innovative partnerships, galvanized public opinion, and showed the immense value of setting ambitious goals. By putting people and their immediate needs at the forefront, the MDGs reshaped decision-making in the developed and developing countries alike. It helped to lift more than one billion people out of extreme poverty, to make inroads against hunger, to enable more girls than ever before to attend school, and to protect our planet. Yet inequalities persist and the progress has been uneven. The world's poor remain overwhelmingly concentrated in some parts of the world. Several women continue to die during pregnancy or from childbirth-related complications. Progress tends to bypass women and those who are lowest on the economic ladder or are disadvantaged because of their age, disability, or ethnicity. Disparities between rural and urban areas remain pronounced.

## SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS: AGENDA 2030



The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), otherwise known as the Global Goals, are a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity. These 17 Goals build on the successes of the Millennium Development Goals, while including new areas such as climate change, economic inequality, innovation, sustainable consumption, peace and justice, among other priorities. The goals are interconnected – often the key to success on one will involve tackling issues more commonly associated with another.



The SDGs work in the spirit of partnership and pragmatism to make the right choices now to improve life, in a sustainable way, for future generations. They provide clear guidelines and targets for all countries to adopt in accordance with their own priorities and the environmental challenges of the world at large. The SDGs are an inclusive agenda. They tackle the root causes of poverty and unite us together to make a positive change for both people and planet. "Supporting the 2030 Agenda is a top priority for UNDP," said UNDP Administrator Helen Clark. "The SDGs provide us with a common plan and agenda to tackle some of the pressing challenges facing our world such as poverty, climate change and conflict. UNDP has the experience and expertise to drive progress and help support countries on the path to sustainable development."

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## HOW SDGs WILL BE BETTER THAN MDGs

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**1. The sustainable development goals (SDGs) are more globally collaborative than the millennium development goals (MDGs)**

The MDGs were largely determined by international donor agencies. The SDGs have been produced by detailed international negotiations that have involved middle-income and low-income countries. The SDGs are **universal** – they apply to all countries and actors. The SDGs are **holistic** – they cover poverty reduction and inequality, sustainability and economic growth with job creation.

**2. The private sector now has a greater role to play**

The private sector is far more engaged in the SDGs than they ever were in the MDGs, through initiatives such as UN Global Compact and Impact 2030. The propensity of the commercial world to supplement global development efforts is vast and still undervalued and under-explored within the development community.

**3. The MDGs were not rooted in human rights standards**

The SDGs are a step forward. But if development is to be inclusive and just, and leave no one behind, it must be rooted strongly in human rights principles and standards. The MDGs and much mainstream development policy has failed to give adequate priority to challenging systemic patterns of discrimination and disadvantage – violations of rights – that keep many people in poverty.

**4. The SDGs are inclusive**

Seven SDG targets explicitly refer to persons with disabilities; an additional six targets refer to people in vulnerable situations, while seven targets are universal and two refer to non-discrimination. Inequality is not just measured in terms of growth but in terms of making sure the most excluded can exercise their human rights.

**5. The indicators present opportunities for civil society engagement**

SDGs have the potential to expand opportunities for local action and local partnership. We have some exciting examples of civil society already working to create new opportunities for engagement with government at a local level to make progress on justice, legal identity and other themes. MDGs had no concrete role for the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), whereas SDGs have paid attention to this right from the framing stage itself with significant engagement of civil society actors. The CSOs can play an important role to hold governments accountable at the local level.

**6. The UN can inspire the world with the SDGs**

If you view the UN's main role as promoting progressive ideas and/or changing international social norms, then the SDGs will be another evolutionary step in getting people around the world to think a little bit more as global citizens and think about poverty, inequality, sustainability, consumption and discrimination, and do something.



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## POSSIBLE CHALLENGES TO ACHIEVE SDGs

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### 1. Funding problem

Some of the SDGs that have been costed show that the cost of the SDGs is huge. The rough calculations have put the cost of providing a social safety net to eradicate extreme poverty at about \$66 bn a year, while annual investments in improving infrastructure (water, agriculture, transport, and power) could be up to a total of \$7 tn globally. A major conference on financing for the SDGs, held in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in July 2015, failed to ease concerns that there will not be enough funds to meet the aspirational nature of the goals. It included a recommitment to the UN target on aid spending 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) set more than 40 years ago. Multilateral banks committed \$400 bn.

### 2. International peace and security: a pre-requisite for holistic development

Maintaining peace is essential for development. A threat to international peace and stability by non-state actors is emerging as a major factor for both developed and developing countries. The recent crisis in Syria has forced more than 12 million people to leave their homes and made them refugees.

### 3. Measuring progress: a great challenge

A robust follow-up and review mechanism for the implementation of the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development will require a solid framework of indicators and statistical data to monitor progress, inform policy and ensure accountability of all stakeholders. A number of targets in the SDGs are not quantified. Measurability will depend on the availability of data and capacity to measure them.

### 4. Lack of Accountability: a major bottleneck

There was a lack of accountability for inputs into MDGs at all levels. This challenge needs to be addressed in SDGs. At the international level, most of the developed countries have not met the target of allocating 0.7% of GNI to international aid in the last 40 years. The lack of priority in funds allocation within country budget has also been a problem during MDGs. Similar lack of accountability exists at ministry, state, and local administration level. If we take SDGs seriously the accountability needs to be strengthened at all levels.

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## FINAL ANALYSIS

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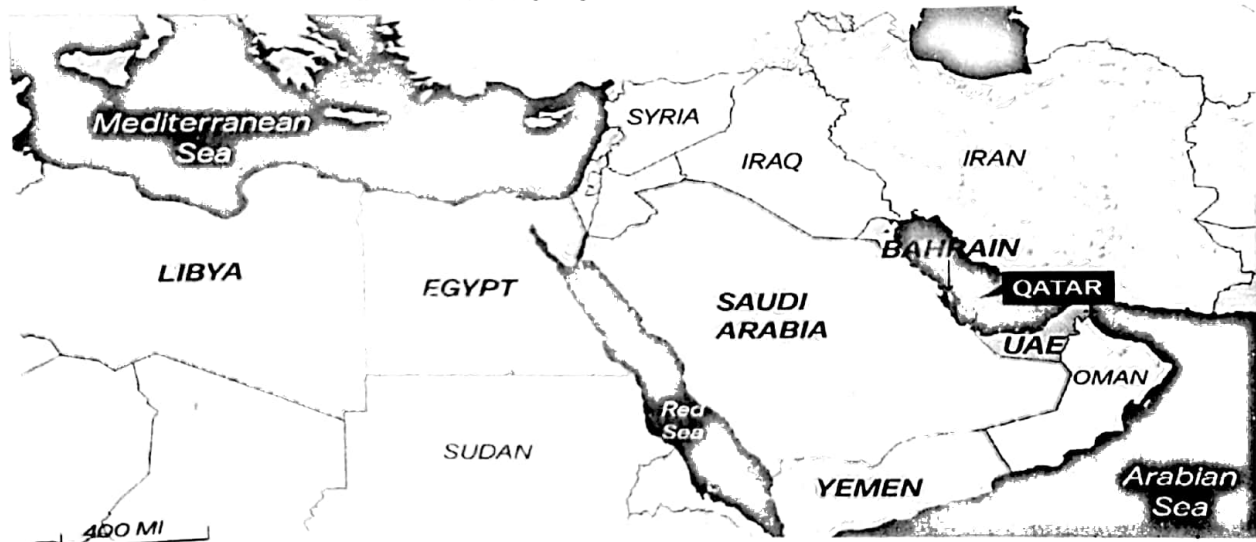
After years of intense deliberations, the member-nations have reached an agreement on 17 development goals — including the elimination of extreme poverty and hunger — to be achieved by 2030. It covers a wide range of political and socio-economic issues, including poverty, hunger, gender equality, industrialization, sustainable development, full employment, human rights, quality education, climate change and sustainable energy for all. Though, it is a highly ambitious agenda that promises to transform the lives of billions of people; its success will depend largely not only on international efforts but also on the commitment of individual states. It may also cost trillions of dollars each year to achieve the minimum targets. Nevertheless, the Sustainable Development Agenda highlights the growing UN focus on development and humanitarian causes and greater international resolve to address issues related to poverty, gender inequality and education. Unfortunately, Pakistan does not appear to realize the importance of these issues relating to investing in human development. Poverty, education and gender inequality are still the lowest items on the priority list of the government. That gives little confidence to a country being able to achieve those goals in the stipulated time frame. The priorities need to change. This new agenda will require changing old ways of doing business and embracing innovations.

# CHAPTER 33

# QATAR CRISIS

GLOBAL AGE CURRENT AFFAIRS

In June 2017, Saudi Arabia and its allies cut the diplomatic ties with Qatar, accusing it of supporting terrorism and fostering ties with their Shia rival Iran. This came 2 weeks after US President Donald Trump on May 21, 2017 addressed a widely celebrated summit in Saudi Arabia. He sought to bring together the heads of state of the Gulf Cooperation Council GCC and many of their regional allies to affirm their commitment to the never-ending battle against terrorism. However, just two weeks later, the crisis emerged. The crisis unfolding in the Arab world led Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, Yemen and the UAE to sever ties with Qatar over allegations that the oil-rich island nation was sponsoring extremism and terrorism. Overnight, planes and cargo ships heading for Qatar were diverted, all diplomatic links were cut and Qatar's sole land border, with Saudi Arabia, was closed. Even camels were not spared the politics – 12,000 Qatari animals were forcibly repatriated.



The emirate was angrily accused by Riyadh and its allies of supporting a wide variety of actors, from terrorist outfits such as the militant Islamic State group and Al Qaeda, to the Muslim Brotherhood, to Shia militants in eastern Saudi Arabia. Doha denies the claims. Gulf States banned citizens from travelling to Qatar and ordered Qatar's citizens to leave within 14 days. Qatar is politically and economically isolated by Gulf and other Arab states led by Saudi Arabia. Immediately after the row, the Kuwaiti emir Sheikh Sabah al Ahmad al Jaber Al Sabah travelled to Saudi Arabia to try and mediate, but to no avail. Then Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, accompanied by former Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, Chief of the Army Staff Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa and the then adviser to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz, also visited the Kingdom. But his mediation visit for finding a diplomatic solution to the Qatar Crisis did not achieve any immediate breakthrough.

After overcoming the initial psychological and financial shock, Qatar has doubled-down on security relations with the US and Turkey and expanded diplomatic and trade ties with partners old and new across the world.



### Turkey's major strategic Role

The crisis put Turkey in a delicate position as it sought to balance its strategic alliance with Qatar while preserving its own relations with regional heavyweight Saudi Arabia. Iran and Turkey were the nations to start sending "humanitarian aid" shipments both by sea and by air to Doha as President Erdogan stated that what was being done to Qatar was a grave mistake and described the isolation of Qatar as "inhumane and against Islamic values." Russia has also declared its support for Qatar. Again, the key players in the Syria Civil War came to the scene and hopefully this alliance will play a major role in ending this unwanted crisis. Turkey has been carrying out intensive shuttle diplomacy with the involved countries and also the US. Imposing an embargo - especially a food embargo - only helps to victimize the innocent residents in the country. It is the people, the civilians, who are suffering due to this blockade. Moreover, isolating a country is not the right way of resolving issues. Today, they want to isolate Qatar and Turkey. In the past, they wanted to isolate Iran and Russia. A strong and firm alliance of those states that are being isolated would deal a great blow to the plotters. We have seen it come true regarding the Syrian Civil War in the Astana meetings, as solid steps have been taken after a long time of no change.

Turkey has long known to be on the side of its allies, especially when they are in need. With this attitude, Turkey has played as a game changer in the region: For instance, it was on the side of Russia when the West ostracized them; it hosted the refugees fleeing Syria and Iraq; it never cut its joint ties with Iran when it was isolated in the days prior to the P5+1 nuclear deal and now Turkey gave support to Qatar in its most difficult days. Without the backing of Iran and Turkey, Qatar would not be able to resist this oppression.

With regards to the signing of the Qatar-Turkey defense cooperation contract on December 19, 2014, Turkey has established a military base in Qatar. Turkey deployed 5,000 soldiers to the country. Even though this action has attracted a good deal of attention, it does not mean to indicate that Turkey wants to escalate the conflict; on the contrary, the presence of the army will open the way to solving the crisis via diplomacy. Concerning the criticisms of this military base, Turkey's Defense Minister said, "The base in Qatar is both a Turkish base and one that will preserve the security of Qatar and the region."

It would be fair to say the target in this crisis is not only Qatar but also its long-term allies: Turkey and Iran, since Saudi Arabia and its allies put forth a 13-point list of demands that include cutting diplomatic Links with Iran, shutting Turkey's military base in Qatar and closing the Al-Jazeera TV network. President Erdogan considered the list as "against international law." At the same time, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani condemned the "siege of Qatar" and stated that "Iran's air space, ground and sea will be open to Qatar as a friendly nation." As per the latest news reports, Qatar's Foreign Minister Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani said the list "was meant to be rejected".

The extent to which the Turkish-Qatari alliance survives will depend on Qatar's resistance to the imposed boycott. The situation may evolve into a long-standing feud, or it may end with Qatar's choice to fulfill the demands and ease tensions. In the meantime, Iran will surely be taking advantage of the situation to corner Saudi Arabia. It is still unclear whether the EU and the United States will take sides in the conflict since they have so far been shifting positions on the issue. It seems there is no way to change the fact that Turkey's bet is on Qatar, mainly due to the necessity of past policies in the region. However, Ankara will also take care to avoid antagonizing Saudi Arabia.

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## POSSIBLE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

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The four countries issued a list of demands to be carried out within 10 days, which Qatar promptly rejected. At the top of the list was downgrading of diplomatic ties with Iran, but it also included ceasing military cooperation with Turkey and shutting down Al Jazeera. These countries also called on Doha to sever ties to "terrorist groups" and stop the funding of persons and groups designated as "terrorists" by the US and other nations, and to stop alleged meddling in other states' affairs.

Possibly at the core of this row is the desire for power and influence. Saudis and Emiratis have not been happy with Qatar's foreign policy, and this seemed the right time to teach a lesson to Qatar. Saudi Arabia has long considered itself the head of the Arab and Muslim world. After the fall of Nasser in Egypt, Riyadh felt it was the sole champion of the Arab and Muslim worlds. However, in the decades since, others have emerged to challenge this narrative. Post-1979 Iran, for example, claims itself to be a major actor in the Muslim world. Qatar, in the past few years, has been accused of rising more than it deserves. It has expanded its influence through broadcaster Al Jazeera as well as its support for the Muslim Brotherhood.

Qatar's original sin was in attempting to forge a path independent of Saudi's traditional hegemony in the region. Since the mid-1990s, Qatar has tried to escape the looming Saudi shadow, at times by developing even closer ties with traditional Saudi allies like the US, which relocated its military's Central Command to Qatar after 9/11 and used it to launch the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Qatar also gradually sidelined Saudi Arabia as a regional leader entrusted to resolve civil disputes. For example, it frequently hosted warring factions from Afghanistan, Sudan, Lebanon, and the Palestinian territories for reconciliation talks. Doha Talks between Afghan Taliban and the Afghan Government are one example. At other times, Qatar supported the emergence of alternative centres of power around the region, launching the Al Jazeera network in 1996 with the aim of bringing to light views that had been largely suppressed by regional dictatorships, including those of the Islamist opposition.

Most of the current accusations against Qatar date back to the years leading up to and during the Arab Spring uprisings that began in 2010. Unlike its neighbors, Qatar lent its support for the removal of authoritarian regimes in Egypt and Tunisia, and generally endorsed the possibilities offered by a new era of political openness for repressed populations around the region.

Moreover, the crisis underscores the rising influence of ambitious crown princes in Riyadh and Abu Dhabi who do not feel bound by the more cautious and conservative foreign policy approaches of their predecessors. Instead, having consolidated Abu Dhabi's position as the dominant force in the UAE, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan is pushing ahead with plans to transform the federation into a strategic, as well as economic, actor of the first rank. Since becoming the key player in Saudi Arabia following his father's accession to power in January 2015, Mohammad Bin Salman has demonstrated a similar willingness to take big risks to project power and extend influence well beyond the Gulf. The upshot has been a novel alignment between Abu Dhabi and Riyadh that has attempted to overturn the traditional security architecture in the region. Central to this has been an attempt to replace a defensive security model based around the GCC with a more offensive approach based on the proactive ratcheting up of tensions with opponents and the break-up of existing regional structures. In these terms, the launch of the blockade in June 2017 by the UAE-Saudi axis was intended to diminish

Qatar's political autonomy and economic independence, as it was perceived as an obstacle to these wider strategic ambitions. That such a move was deemed necessary, as much as the blockade itself has exposed the deep cleavages that have undermined and overshadowed intra-Gulf cooperation for decades.

This shows that it is merely a **struggle for power**. If there were genuine concerns regarding Qatar's alleged role in promoting militancy, these should have been discussed through diplomatic channels. As for the accusation that Qatar has sponsored terrorism, while the emirate has been blamed for backing extremists in Syria, it is also true that the Saudis themselves have a complex relationship with Salafist militancy. So it is simply a struggle for Power.

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## IMPACTS OF THE CRISIS

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### **Threatening the Unity of the Muslim World**

The unity of Muslim world had always been difficult given the rivalry between Saudi-Arabia and Iran for hegemonic designs. Apart from the Saudi-Iranian rivalry, geopolitical differences between other Muslim states make unity a far-fetched dream. The Qatar crisis indicates the total collapse of the Sunni Muslim unity allegedly created by Donald Trump's attendance at the Saudi summit a few days before the Crisis. After the GCC Countries vowed to fight against Shia Iranian terror, these turned against Qatar, accusing it of fomenting terror.

### **The collapse of the GCC**

The biggest casualty of the crisis is the GCC. It has proven itself incapable of serving as a mechanism to resolve the crisis. Nor has it been able to provide any reassurance to either Oman or Kuwait as they deal with the fallout from this clash between their regional partners. Kuwait's emir Sabah Al Sabah's attempt to find "rapprochement among the brothers" has earned him the praise of the international community, but has achieved little so far. This impotence was amply demonstrated in December 2017 when Qatar's Sheik Tamim was the only GCC leader to accept an invitation to attend the first GCC summit since the crisis began. That the rulers of the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Oman stayed away from Kuwait City was bad enough. Worse, just hours before the ill-fated meeting began, the Saudi and UAE governments announced the launch of a new joint economic and military cooperation committee. The message was clear: going forward these two Gulf powerhouses would no longer use existing GCC structures to discuss important regional matters.

This very public move to undermine the GCC is deeply problematic. The GCC has a far-from-perfect record, failing in particular to institutionalise military and security cooperation. But for almost four decades prior to the blockade, it did provide an effective mechanism for members to unitedly respond to regional crises. This was evident during the brutal and destructive 8-year war between Iran and Iraq in the 1980s and following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the start of anti-government protests in Bahrain in 2011.

The GCC was also a forum through which its members could contain and resolve major disagreements between each other before they escalated, including the 2014 withdrawal of ambassadors from Doha. This was a key reason why members never militarised their differences beyond localised and irregular clashes over the last 40 years.

For all its faults, this made the GCC one of the most reliable and resilient regional organisations in the world. It even deserves some credit for the widely held perception of the Gulf as an oasis of stability in an otherwise dangerous neighbourhood.



### **Economic impact**

According to the IMF, Qatar's economy has proven resilient amid the blockade and lower oil prices. "It said: Economic performance improved in 2018. Qatar's economy has successfully absorbed the shocks from the 2014-16 drop in hydrocarbon prices and the 2017 diplomatic rift." The fund estimated real GDP growth at 2.2 percent, up from 1.6 percent in 2017, and also said the country's banking sector was healthy, although it reported a cooling in the housing market

### **Impeding inter-regional Trade**

The blockade has made it harder to develop inter-regional trade, attract more foreign investment and build on recent successes in turning the region into a global hub in travel, communications, finance and logistics.

### **Hampering Security cooperation**

The blockade makes it difficult to envision formal moves to improve security cooperation. Security cooperation is essential in traditionally sensitive areas like counterterrorism and intelligence sharing. The reason is that the cooperation relied primarily on the trust generated by shared external threats, bonds of language and religion and deeply rooted business and familial ties. The dispute is likely to affect it. Once hugely influential, in the post-blockade era, these factors seem to count for little. Yet the UAE-Saudi coalition has not yet offered a plausible alternative to the GCC framework that was jettisoned. This has destabilized the most stable part of the Arab world as local actors now search for new ways to deal with the vacuum they face.

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## **PAKISTAN'S ROLE: MEDIATION BETWEEN THE STATES**

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Immediately after the crisis, Pakistan's Foreign Office expressed its concern. Pakistan must not be dragged into any internal Arab conflict. It must tread a very fine line: relations with both the Saudis and Qataris must be maintained. The reason is simple: Pakistan has cordial relations with both Riyadh and Doha and has hundreds of thousands of workers living in these states. Soon after the crisis, the then Foreign Office spokesman Nafees Zakaria said: "Pakistan believes in unity among Muslim countries. We have made consistent efforts for its promotion." Unlike diplomatic crisis between Riyadh and Tehran, a rift between Saudi Arabia and Qatar poses a bigger foreign policy challenge for Pakistan, which has strong political, economic and security ties with both sides.

Islamabad's refusal to enter into this conflict was attributable to factors ranging from Pakistan's sensitive sectarian relations at home, which resulted in violence in the 1990s, and the Pakistani military's already extensive engagement along the Afghan and Indian borders. Nonetheless, Pakistan's military has maintained historically strong ties with GCC states, especially Saudi Arabia, and understood Riyadh and Abu Dhabi's security concerns vis-a-vis Yemen. Although Pakistan's leadership wanted to contribute militarily in Yemen, the full backing of parliament was necessary, and strong domestic opposition resulted in the parliament rejecting Saudi Arabia's request.

The Qatar crisis represented another instance in which Pakistan chose to embrace a neutral stance rather than back Riyadh and Abu Dhabi. Islamabad's position on the GCC dispute has much to do with the Qatari royal family's relationship with former Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Qatar's extensive engagement in Pakistan's energy sector.

The energy sector is another important dimension in Pakistani-Qatari relations. Qatar's Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) exports to Pakistan – despite creating significant controversy in Pakistan due to price issues and the fact that the terms of the Qatari-Pakistani LNG deal is non-negotiable for the next ten years – have been crucial in partially averting Pakistan's long-standing energy woes.

The Pakistani ambassador to Qatar praised Qatar's ability to deal with internal and "external" threats and expressed confidence that the two countries could increase trade and tourism ties. Doha announced that Pakistanis would be granted visas on arrival in Qatar.

Illustrated by Pakistan's refusal to adopt the Saudi/UAE position on the Yemeni conflict in 2015 and the Qatar crisis of 2017, Pakistan is carefully balancing between Doha and the ATQ without taking sides and even has tried to mediate, albeit with limited success. Pakistan's policy has been to broaden its strategic engagement with multiple political actors in various regions including China, Russia, and Turkey rather than limiting it only to Islamabad's traditional allies in the Arabian Peninsula.

The National Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution calling on all states in the Gulf region to shun their differences. The resolution said, "This house calls upon all countries to show restraint and resolve all differences through dialogue. This house also calls upon the government to take concrete steps towards forging unity amongst the Muslim Ummah in the region".

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## FINAL ANALYSIS

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For more than 15 years the Middle East has been a region of turmoil and instability. Transnational terrorism, waves of displaced populations and seemingly intractable wars present global threats that affect countries far from the region. In Qatar, it is believed that the crises in the Middle East are interconnected and require comprehensive solutions, and that peace and stability will be restored only when the regional countries agree to work together to reach consensus on key challenges, including the destabilizing influence of sectarianism, rising youth unemployment and the common need to diversify the energy-dependent economies. But at a time when Arab allies should be united in facing the atrocity of the mass killings in Syria, the escalating war in Yemen, and the rebuilding of state institutions in Libya and Iraq, some regional players have chosen to pursue petty grievances and selfish ambitions that undermine the unity of the Muslim World.

For the more than 2 years, Qatar has been subjected to a reckless and ill-considered blockade imposed by four countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt. These nations felt threatened by Qatar's independent foreign policy and in response, they have closed its borders and barred flights. The blockading countries may have expected to bring Qatar to its knees. If that was their intention, their effort has clearly backfired.

Today, Qatar is stronger. Within 24 hours of the imposition of the blockade, Qatar quickly established new sources and alternate, more sustainable supply routes for basic goods, like food and medicine. In the weeks and months that followed, Qatar signed new, long-term contracts for economic cooperation, at the same time accelerating plans to diversify its economy by diminishing its reliance on its hydrocarbon resources.

Meanwhile, the Middle East remains in turmoil. The government of President Bashar al-Assad has consolidated power in Syria, shifting the regional and geopolitical landscape; besieged Palestinians in Gaza have risen up in protest, focusing new attention on the need for a workable peace plan between the Palestinians and the Israelis; and Yemen has entering its third year of war, with tens of thousands already dead and no end in sight. These issues are important to the people of the Arabian Peninsula, and all of them cry out for a united Arab voice.

Qatar believes that the stakes are too high, and the time too limited, to focus on differences between and among the Arab states. The administration in Washington clearly shares this view. US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, also has stressed the importance of Gulf unity. President Trump has repeatedly

expressed his desire to see the Gulf dispute resolved. All agree it is time for this sorry chapter in Gulf history to come to an end.

The blockade of Qatar — now widely viewed as instigated under false pretenses — has undermined the Middle East's stability. By now it should be clear that there can be no "winners" in this dispute. It is therefore time for the blockading nations to abandon their delusions of victory, prioritize the security interests of the entire Middle East and end the blockade.

Historically, the Gulf Cooperation Council — an organization of which three of the blockading countries are a part — has played a stabilizing role in Gulf affairs. But the G.C.C. was never meant to serve as a regional court, an advocacy group or a policymaking body.

The issues confronting the nations of the Arabian Peninsula require a broader platform for dialogue and negotiation. Qatar's government believes that a new regional pact, unencumbered by the recent rift, could bring back the positive leadership and authority that once existed and that this would help the Middle East to address the economic and political challenges. Qatar believes that the current G.C.C. stalemate, in particular, highlights the urgent need for such an agreement.

It is hoped that wisdom will prevail and that our neighbors will join us in creating a new mechanism to promote the collective security interests and advance the cause of peace. By restoring Gulf unity and establishing a new framework for conflict resolution, the region can be made more stable and secure.

The Qatar crisis has proven that conflicts among the Sunni states continue to be as intense as their regional struggle with Iran and that regime security concerns continue to drive their policies. Regional powers miscalculate the likely outcome of their policies with impressive frequency, a cautionary note for those hoping for the region to ride out the current turbulence. Also, there are worries that Pakistan would not be able to maintain its neutrality in the conflict for long. Domestically, the government had been under pressure to stay out of the conflict and, instead, play its role in trying to defuse tensions between the two sides. However, neutrality is the only way ahead.



# CHAPTER 28

# GLOBALIZATION

GLOBAL AGE CURRENT AFFAIRS

## Introduction

Simply stated, Globalization is the process by which the world, previously isolated through physical and technological barrier, becomes increasingly interconnected. It means an increase in cross-border interactions that lead to high similarity globally in different life spheres. Cross-border interactions include the flow of goods, services, finances, people, nature, laws and ideas. So Globalization is manifested by the increase in interaction between peoples around the world that involves the sharing of ideas, cultures, goods, services and investment. It is promoted by reductions in transportation and communication costs, the rise of new information technologies, such as the internet, and liberalizations in the markets for goods, services, labor, capital, and technology. People generally mainly focus on economic globalisation. But one can also speak of globalisation in other life spheres—political, cultural, psychological and ecological. Globalization results in increased trade and lower prices. Globalisation heightens competition within domestic product, capital, and labour markets, as well as among countries adopting different trade and investment strategies. It changes the life styles and living conditions for people around the world, presenting new opportunities to some, but risks and threats to others.

## DEFINITIONS

**Joseph Stiglitz**, an economist, and winner of the Nobel Prize defines Globalization as: Globalization “is the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world ...brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and people across borders.”

**Thomas Friedman**, a political reporter for the New York Times, defines Globalization in terms of paradigm shifts. We can compare the contemporary world to the world of the Cold War prior to the fall of Communism (1989). The following is a partial list of contrasts derived from Thomas Friedman’s book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*.

### Paradigm Shifts from the Cold War to the Age of Globalization

Cold War	Globalization
Division	Integration (of nations, markets, and technologies)
the Wall	the Web
8% of world’s countries have free markets	28% of world’s countries have free markets
Different cultures	Global culture
Weight (megatons)	Speed (megabits)
Power of nations	Power of individuals, markets



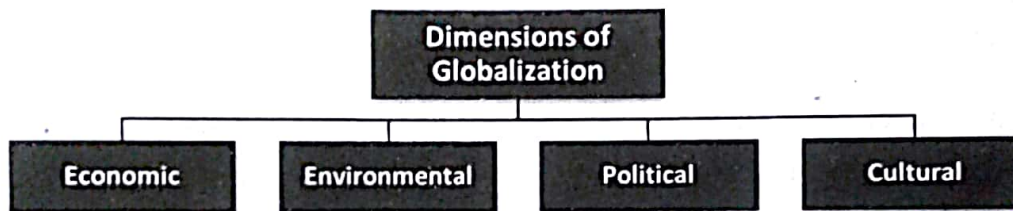
According to **Held and McGrew**: "Globalization, global integration: '...a widening, deepening and speeding up of interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual'"

## REAL WORLD EXAMPLES OF GLOBALIZATION

- A car manufacturer based in Japan can manufacture auto parts in several developing countries, ship the parts to another country for assembly, then sell the finished cars to any nation.
- China and India are among the foremost examples of nations that have benefited from globalization, but there are many smaller players and newer entrants.
- Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam are among fast-growing global players in Asia.
- Ghana and Ethiopia had the fastest-growing African economies in the world in 2018, according to a World Bank report.

## ASPECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

Manfred Steger, professor of Global Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa has divided Globalization into **four aspects or dimensions**:



### Economic dimension

Advancement in communication and transportation technology, combined with free-market ideology, has given goods, services, and capital unprecedented mobility. Similarly the rise of International Financial institutions and World trade agreements compel poor countries to integrate by reducing tariffs and by providing financial support. On the other hand FDI and foreign capital help the developing countries to uplift their economy. This has led to both positive and negative effects for those countries.

### Environmental dimension

Increase in industrialization, technology and modern modes of transportation put negative impact on the environment. The reason is the fossil-fuel based economy. Burning fossil fuels for running industries and meeting energy needs results in emissions of greenhouse gases, which cause global warming. To cope with the growing threat of global warming, global initiatives are taken. Some of these are RIO Summit, Montreal Protocol, SDGs, Kyoto Protocol and Paris Climate Change Treaty etc. This happens as a result of globalization. All states collectively take and agree to reduce poverty, limit the use of non-renewable resources, reduce pollution, safe ozone layer, reduce emission of greenhouse gasses etc.

### Political dimension

Political globalization encompasses the expansion of political interrelations around the world. Globalization affects the political stage by moving away from a national, territorial system and towards a unilateral integrated system. This allows for less focus on independent rights and economies and much greater focus on world events, local crises, human rights, human security and global development, according to Global Policy. The organizations such as Human Right Watch, ICJ, and



Transparency International are non-governmental global institutions to guard human rights, resolve conflicts and to reduce global corruption are all results of globalization. Similarly, UN peacekeeping forces and other initiatives of same kinds are taken to make the world a peaceful place to live in.

### Cultural dimension

Cultural globalization is the intensification and expansion of cultural flows across the globe. Culture is a very broad concept and has many facets, but in the discussion on globalization, Steger means it to refer to “the symbolic construction, articulation, and dissemination of meaning.” It focuses on the development of a global culture, or lack thereof, the role of the media in shaping our identities and desires, and the globalization of languages. It shows the multidirectional movements of human beings while evaluating the role media plays in shaping changing identities and ideas.

This shows Globalization is not merely an economic phenomenon, but a social, cultural, political, and legal phenomenon.

- Socially, it leads to greater interaction among various populations.
- Culturally, globalization represents the exchange of ideas, values, and artistic expression among cultures.
- Globalization also represents a trend toward the development of single world culture.
- Politically, globalization has shifted attention to intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).
- Legally, globalization has altered how international law is created and enforced.

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## EXPECTED BENEFITS OF GLOBALIZATION

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The advantages of globalization are actually much like the advantages of technological improvement. They have very similar effects: they raise output in countries, raise productivity, create more jobs, raise wages, and lower prices of products in the world economy.

The architects of globalization argue that it has the potential to make this world a better place to live in. They are of the view that globalization can solve some of the basic problems like unemployment and poverty. Firstly, it encourages **free trade**. Free trade is supposed to **reduce barriers such as tariffs**, value added taxes, subsidies, and other barriers between nations. Without borders in place, consumers can purchase items from anywhere in the world at a reduced cost. The proponents say globalization represents free trade which promotes global economic growth, creates jobs, makes companies more competitive, and lowers prices for consumers. According to them, free trade would enable countries to trade more. This would promote peace as countries would not go to war.

The supporters also argue that the competition between countries is supposed to **reduce the prices**. Moreover, it provides developing countries the chance to **develop economically** through **FDI** and **inflow of technology**. It provides access to a **worldwide market** for companies and consumers who have access to products of different countries. Transnational companies investing in installing plants in other countries **provide employment** for the people in those countries often getting them out of **poverty**. Open borders mean more opportunities to **develop poor areas** of the world. There are many nations in the world today that are in a state of entry-level industrialization. Poverty is a feature in many of these developing countries.

The supporters argue that the politics is merging and decisions that are being taken are actually beneficial for people all over the world. There is more **inflow of information** between two countries.



which do not have anything in common between them. It allows for open lines of communication. When there is an access to more information, there is more ability to make better decisions.

There is **cultural intermixing** and each country is learning more about other cultures. This allows people to have a greater perspective about the world. Instead of people from a different country being considered an alien, we would all be considered human. It becomes a place that is more open and tolerant.

Socially the societies have become more open and tolerant towards each other and people who live in the other part of the world are not considered aliens. Most people see speedy travel, mass communications and quick dissemination of information through the Internet as benefits of globalization. Labor can move from country to country to market their skills. True, but this can cause problems with the existing labor and downward pressure on wages.

The figure below summarizes some of the Benefits of globalization:

Economic	Cultural	Political
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Free Trade</li> <li>• Cheaper prices for products and services (more optimized supply chains)</li> <li>• Better availability of products and services</li> <li>• Easier access to capitals and commodities</li> <li>• Increased competition</li> <li>• Producers and retailers can diversify their markets and contribute to economic growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to new cultural products (art, entertainment, education)</li> <li>• Better understanding of foreign values and attitudes. Less stereotypes and misconceptions about other people and cultures</li> <li>• Capacity to communicate and defend one's values and ideals globally</li> <li>• Instant access to information from anywhere in the world</li> <li>• Customization or adaptation of global cultural trends to local environment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to international aid and support</li> <li>• It contributes to world peace. It reduces risk of invasions, more checks to big powers and limitation to nationalism.</li> <li>• Smaller countries can work together and gain more influence internationally</li> <li>• International organizations are often committed to spread values like freedom and to fight abuses within countries</li> <li>• Governments can learn from each other</li> </ul>

## DRAWBACKS OF GLOBALIZATION

Certainly, globalization has been a good thing for many developing countries who now have access to international markets and can export cheap goods. Globalization has also been good for Multinational corporations. But globalization has not been good for many. The salaried class (blue or white collar) feels that globalisation has not benefitted them. Many developing countries face challenges to their sovereignty.

The anti-globalists claim that globalization is not working for the majority of the world. **Economic inequality** has worsened. The UN Development Program reports that the richest 20 percent of the world's population consume 86 percent of the world's resources while the poorest 80 percent consume just 14 percent. Globalization has led to exploitation of labor. Prisoners and child workers are used to work in inhumane conditions. Safety standards are ignored to produce cheap goods. There is also an increase in **human trafficking**.

As afore-mentioned, advocates of globalization highlighted the importance of Multinational corporations. But certainly there are drawbacks as well. The rise of Multinational corporations creates a number of problems such as **rise in inequality and unequal distribution of wealth**. This resulted in the



rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer. According to OXFAM report 2019 "Billionaire wealth increased by 12 percent last year – or \$2.5 billion a day - while the 3.8 billion people who make up the poorest half of humanity saw their wealth decline by 11 percent." Moreover, the MNCs are accused of **unethical business practices** in areas such as labor, product safety, environmental protection, corruption, and regulatory compliance. Multinational corporations are accused of **social injustice**, unfair working conditions (including slave labor wages, living and working conditions), as well as lack of concern for environment, mismanagement of natural resources, and ecological damage. For example, Nike's brand image was hugely damaged by reports that it utilized sweatshops and low-wage workers in developing countries.

Another drawback is that the large multi-national corporations have the ability to **exploit tax havens** in other countries to avoid paying taxes. In a report, Prescription for Poverty, Oxfam has claimed that the world's biggest pharmaceutical companies appeared to be dodging an estimated \$3.8 billion in tax per year across 16 countries. It analysed the financial disclosures from Pfizer, Merck, Johnson and Johnson and Abbott between 2013 and 2015. In the seven developing countries (Pakistan, India, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Thailand), where data was available, the companies appeared to avoid an estimated \$112 million in taxes every year. If these governments invested this money in healthcare, it could pay for 10 million girls to be vaccinated against the virus that causes cervical cancer – one of the deadliest forms of cancer responsible for the death of one woman every two minutes across the globe. This burdens the tax payers in the developing countries.

Moreover, MNCs which were previously restricted to commercial activities are increasingly **influencing political decisions**. Many think there is a threat of corporations ruling the world because they are gaining power, due to globalization. This is costing the developing countries their sovereignty. **Fall of domestic and local market** of developing nations owing to the spread of MNCs is another drawback of these organizations. It widely affects state economy.

Many in the developing world see globalization as a tool for Western domination. The west allegedly uses globalization as a tool to politically, economically, and culturally dominate the world. All the rules apparently benefitted the western countries instead of the developing world. Analysts are increasingly using the term "neo-imperialism" referring to exploitation of the developing countries by the developed countries. For example, organizations like the IMF and the WB are ruled by the West.

While globalization has made foreign cultures easier to access, it has also begun to mix cultures together. The successes of certain cultures throughout the world have caused other countries to emulate these lifestyles and culture. When cultures begin to lose their distinctive features, we lose our global diversity. One United Nations' study shows that half of local languages in the world are expected to disappear. This could lead unenthusiastically to marginalizing many local cultures. Scientific and economic superiority of the US and the flow of information technology assist in imposing certain languages in particular English as a second language in some developing and developed countries, and as a first language in some others. Cultural uniqueness is lost in favor of homogenization and a Universal culture that draws heavily from American culture.

There have been certain problems for the developed countries as well. The most problematic thing for developed countries is that jobs are lost and transferred to lower cost countries. According to estimates granting developing countries like China most favored nation status drained away 3.2 millions of jobs, including 2.4 million manufacturing jobs. Moreover, the workers in developed countries like the face pay-cut demands from employers who threaten to export jobs. This has created a culture of fear for many middle class workers who have little leverage in this global game.



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Besides economic drawbacks, few experts think that globalization is also leading to the incursion of infectious diseases. Deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS are being spread by travelers to the remotest corners of the globe. Social welfare schemes or “safety nets” are under great pressure in developed countries because of deficits, job losses, and other economic ramifications of globalization.

Globalization and fast communication has given birth to the illegal non state actors including terrorist groups and organizations and their activities. The interrelation between terrorism and globalization is subject to controversies. On one hand, some views assert that terrorism is spreading not because of globalization but because some people are excluded from globalization. On the other hand, certain views claim that globalization may be one of the main causes of the spread of terrorism because it assists terrorist groups to distribute their literature and enforce their views on like-minded people in other parts of the globe. Some also blame open borders ease the mobilization of terrorist. The 9/11 attack, Pulwama attack are results of globalization and fast communication. The organizations like al-Qaida, Daish, ISIS pose a continuous threat to peaceful world order.

Regarding immigration, open borders and easy visa policies are the fruits of globalization. A large number of masses left third world countries and migrated towards developed countries. The haters of globalization use it as an argument that these immigrants stole their citizens’ jobs and opportunities and are a burden on their economy. This is one of the main causes of BREXIT (British exit from the EU). Similarly Refugees (persons who have been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster) are also considered as a burden and mostly disliked and disowned.

The figure below summarizes some of the drawbacks of globalization:

- | <b>Economic</b>  | <b>Cultural</b>  | <b>Political</b>   |
|--|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some countries struggle to compete</li> <li>• Exploitative and unethical behavior of some foreign companies and investors</li> <li>• Tax Evasions</li> <li>• Harsh Working conditions</li> <li>• Strong bargaining power of multinational companies vis-à-vis local governments</li> <li>• Job losses in developed worked</li> <li>•</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dangers of cultural homogenization</li> <li>• Westernization, cultural imperialism or cultural colonialism</li> <li>• Some small cultures may lose their distinct features</li> <li>• Dangerous or violent ideals can also spread faster</li> <li>• Spread of commodity-based consumer culture</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State sovereignty is reduced</li> <li>• The functioning of international and supranational organizations is often not “democratic” in terms of representation and accountability.</li> <li>• Big countries can shape decisions in supranational organizations</li> <li>• Sometimes countries can veto decisions and slow down decision making processes</li> <li>• Coordination is difficult and expensive</li> </ul> |

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## FINAL ANALYSIS

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The globalization benefits and drawbacks mentioned above show that there would be many benefits to a borderless world, but there would also be great challenges which would need to be solved for it to be beneficial. Globalization has brought fear of loss of jobs as industrialized countries are thought to have to reduce wages to be competitive with those in the developing world. Globalization has also spawned fears about loss of cultures, which are being overwhelmed by that of the Western Nations. Countries also fear the loss of national sovereignty as they become part of or deal with the supranational structures, like the EU, the UN and the IMF. All these challenges need to be addressed in order to bear fruits.



IRAN AND P5 + 1 NUCLEAR DEAL—JCPOA

**Introduction**

The agreement, formally termed **Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action JCPOA**, on Iran's nuclear programme was announced in Vienna on July 14, 2015. It marked a watershed in world politics. Iran and six major powers reached a historic nuclear deal, which grants Tehran sanctions relief in exchange for curbs on its nuclear programme. Sealed in Vienna after a 13 year stand-off, the deal was reached between **Tehran and the P5 + 1** — the United States, Russia, China, Britain, France and Germany. The JCPOA was **adopted unanimously by the Security Council** under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and is legally binding on the seven countries that negotiated it and on all UN member states. But the Trump administration pulled US out of the deal. The US re-imposed unilateral sanctions, which were explicitly lifted under the JCPOA. It stood in violation of Security Council resolutions and international law. Of course, with its veto power, the Trump administration will prevent any censure of its actions by the Council.

Iran made major concessions to secure the deal, agreeing on some precise elements of the agreement:

1. Not to produce highly enriched uranium;
2. Remove two-thirds of its centrifuges;
3. Not to use its advanced centrifuges;
4. Give up 98pc of its existing enriched uranium stockpile (for 15 years);
5. Modify the Arak heavy water reactor to block production of weapons-grade plutonium and not build other heavy water reactors for 15 years;
6. Put its entire nuclear fuel cycle under full-time IAEA inspections, provide managed access to 'suspicious' locations and as required to, clarify past nuclear activities.

If implemented, the agreement could, as the then President Obama asserted, close all avenues for Iran to acquire nuclear weapons for at least 15 years. However, the agreement had to fulfill major.

**Iranian objectives:**

1. Recognize its 'right' under the NPT to nuclear enrichment. Apart from pride, this was to give Iran the capability to develop nuclear weapons if it chooses to do so in future.
2. Lift economic, trade and financial sanctions almost immediately; Tehran was to immediately gain access to around **\$100 billion in frozen assets**, and **can step up oil exports that have been slashed by almost two-thirds**, and receive major inflows of investment and technology, especially in the oil and gas sector.
3. Lift arms and missile embargoes within a few years
4. Restore its status as a 'normal' state, free to pursue its legitimate national interests, with 'respectful' if not yet close relations with the major powers.

All the major powers have economic interests to promote in Iran and see its cooperation as indispensable in stabilizing the Middle East. Moreover, the **agreement was approved in a binding**



**Security Council resolution.** The deal allowed the UN inspectors to press for visits to Iranian military sites as part of their monitoring duties.

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL—A GAME CHANGER

### Some Positive Implications

Iran and the P5+1 deal can be defined as a major breakthrough in global politics. The agreement offers Iran relief of billions of dollars from the economic sanctions. A majority of states hailed the interim deal as a positive move for promoting peace and stability in the region. Iran considers the deal to be a success of diplomacy that revived the legitimate role of Iran in the world politics. The agreement was to end Iran's political isolation and its estrangement with the world. It would enable Iran to play a proactive role in Middle East. The Iranian deal would give Iran strategic leverage to negotiate peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran, the two neighbouring states of Afghanistan have been hosting millions of refugees. Therefore, they have stakes in the peace and stability in Afghanistan. It would enhance trade and transit opportunities for Iran. Pakistan welcomed the deal as it always desired a peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear issue. The deal was an important step for moving forward in Iran Pakistan Gas Pipe Line.

## NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF IRAN'S NUCLEAR DEAL FOR PAKISTAN

### More Assertive Iran

An unshackled Iran is expected to be more assertive in demanding action to control Jundullah and other Sunni extremist groups crossing into Sistan-Baluchistan from Pakistan. Moreover, it will be in better position to back Shia groups in case of any sectarian Sunni-Shia rift in Pakistan. The mischief-mongers will find a strong hand to back them and this will incite them more.

### Saudi Security Dilemma: A Test for Pakistan's Foreign Policy to Maintain Balanced Relations

While Iran looked forward to strategic "breakout", Saudi Arabia feared strategic encirclement, with both Iraq and Syria firmly within the Iranian sphere of influence; Lebanon under Hezbollah and, through it, Iranian dominance; a Shia revolt in Bahrain; the Shia Houthis in Yemen. The Saudis, like the Israelis, believe that an unshackled Iran will assert itself more aggressively in the region.

The Saudi security dilemma is compounded by Sunni movements which also threaten the kingdom internally and externally. The Islamic State rampages in the north while Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula plots in the south. And, the influence of the rival to Wahabi Islam, the Muslim Brotherhood, has tentacles within the Gulf states.

In these circumstances, the Saudis are presumed to be looking for security support from Pakistan — a nuclear weapon state — in accordance with a long-standing strategic agreement that reportedly exists between the two countries. Pakistan is sensitive to Saudi Arabia's legitimate security concerns and provides support against the internal and external threats facing the kingdom. Saudi stability and prosperity are in Pakistan's national interest. Such a security role will enhance Pakistan's diplomatic leverage. *But the challenge is that it will be essential to ensure that Pakistan's security cooperation with Saudi Arabia is not perceived as against Iran.* One way of doing so would be to develop effective cooperation with Iran to eliminate the Sunni insurgent groups engaged in destabilizing Pakistani and Iranian Balochistan and take credible action to provide full protection to Pakistan's Shia minority. It will need to carefully manage its relations with a more assertive Iran and an anxious GCC states.



## RECENT SCENARIO: US WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL

The deal was undoubtedly one of the greatest achievements of the Obama administration. However, Trump took office in January 2017. He repeatedly blasted the deal as “the worst deal ever”. He warned that if the US is not able to reach a solution working with Congress and allies, then the agreement would be terminated. He criticized the deal for not including Iran’s ballistic missile program or its support of groups like Hezbollah in Lebanon and its aid of Syrian President Bashar Assad. He accused Tehran of not living up to the spirit of the nuclear agreement. He also criticized the fact the deal’s terms expire. He said the accord “threw Iran’s dictatorship a political and economic lifeline”. **So, after reluctantly certifying the agreement twice before, the Trump administration, in May 2018, decided to pull the US out of the deal.** It probably meant **reimposing oil-related sanctions on Iran that were lifted following the signing of the agreement.** It was **diplomatic furor** and a **blow to nuclear arms control.**

Trump administration’s decision unraveled the signature foreign policy achievement of the previous administration. The move by Trump was part of his “**America first**” approach to international agreements, which has led him to withdraw the United States from the **Paris climate accord** and the **Trans-Pacific Partnership** trade talks.

Apparently, Trump wants to replace the JCPOA with a comprehensive agreement binding Iran to forswear fissile material production forever; accept intrusive inspections of Iranian nuclear and military facilities; and freeze its long-range missile programme. Simultaneously, the US wants to reverse Iran’s extended military role and political influence across the Middle East. Many believe that Trump’s ultimate aim is regime change in Iran. These are ominous parallels to the prelude to the Iraq war.

Trump’s strategy angered Iran and put Washington at odds with other signatories of the accord—Britain, France, Germany, Russia, China and the European Union, some of which have benefited economically on renewed trade with Iran. Iranian President Hassan Rouhani said that Iran would remain committed to the multinational nuclear deal. He said: “If we achieve the deal’s goals in cooperation with other members of the deal, it will remain in place... By exiting the deal, America has officially undermined its commitment to an international treaty” He said that he instructed the Iranian Atomic Energy Organisation to take the necessary measures for future actions so that if necessary Iran could resume industrial enrichment without limit. He said that he would wait several weeks before applying the decision. Iranian Foreign ministry was ordered to negotiate with the European countries, China and Russia. He assured that if Iran could benefit from the JCPOA with the cooperation of all countries, the deal would remain. Iran repeatedly said after getting no response from the Europe it will reduce its commitment to the nuclear accord in stages and may even withdraw from the pact altogether unless the remaining signatories find ways to shield its economy from US sanctions.

### Possible Implications

When Trump pulled US out of deal, many critics warned that he risked setting off a chain of events that could lead to war. If the deal collapsed, Iran would resume its nuclear enrichment program. To stop it, the United States would end up with no option but to use force. This in turn could ignite a wider conflagration. But administration officials and other opponents of the deal dismissed such concerns—even as they insisted that in the agreement’s absence, the best way to block Iran’s nuclear program was with the “credible military option.”

Escalation cycle seemed well under way. As part of its “maximum pressure” campaign, the United States in April 2019 designated the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) a terrorist



group: ended the waivers that allowed a small number of countries to purchase Iranian oil; announced additional sanctions designed to cripple the country's economy; and even deployed an aircraft carrier strike group and B-52 bombers to the region to send "a clear and unmistakable message" to the Iranian regime not to challenge the United States.

Predictably, Iran has responded not by caving to U.S. demands (let alone collapsing) but with a pressure campaign of its own. On May 8, 2019, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani announced that Iran would suspend compliance with parts of the nuclear deal and would withdraw entirely if Europe did not find a way to deliver economic benefits to Iran within 60 days—something nearly impossible to achieve. Four days later, four Saudi oil tankers off the coast of the United Arab Emirates were sabotaged with explosives, and two days after that drones crashed into Saudi oil facilities, causing explosions and shutting down a pipeline. No Iranian role in these events has been proved, but the IRGC has resorted to similar asymmetrical and untraceable attacks in the past—which is exactly why U.S. military and intelligence officials had warned that such retaliation was possible.

The Trump administration responded to Iran's response by leaking intelligence that Iran was preparing potential missile attacks against American interests and warning Iran publicly about potential military action. Washington even went so far as to evacuate the staff of the U.S. embassy in Baghdad and to put out word that the United States was preparing contingency plans to send as many as 120,000 troops to the region. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo warned that "if American interests are attacked, we will most certainly respond in an appropriate fashion." On May 16, 2019 a state-aligned newspaper in Saudi Arabia, a close ally of the Trump administration, called for "surgical strikes" against Iran.

*America should know that peace with Iran is mother of all peace and war with Iran is mother of all wars (Iranian President Hassan Rouhani)*

Avoiding further escalation seemed difficult, given both sides' determination not to back down. A new nuclear negotiation, which Trump claims to want, would be one way to avoid a clash. But Iran is not likely to enter talks with an administration it does not trust, and even less likely to agree to the sort of far-reaching deal Trump says is necessary: one that bans all enrichment, lasts forever, allows for even more intrusive inspections than the old agreement, restricts ballistic missiles, and constrains Iran's regional behavior. Further escalation, on the other hand, is quite easy to imagine: should Iran leave the deal entirely, expand its nuclear program even gradually, or sponsor direct or proxy attacks on U.S. troops, the United States will be confronted with only two choices—a humiliating climb-down or the use of military force.

On 14<sup>th</sup> September 2019, Tensions further escalated following drone attacks on two Saudi Oil Facilities. These knocked out more than half of Kingdom Supplies, disrupting global supply as well. The attacks were claimed by Houthi rebels, who warned that their targets would keep on expanding. But Saudis and the US blamed Iran, who denied the allegations. Tensions were high (as of October 2019)

Note: Candidates need to track the developments.

#### **Possible Impact of US withdrawal from the deal on Iran**

The sanctions, first imposed in 2012, cut Iran's oil exports in half and caused huge economic turmoil in the country, helping bring Iran to the negotiating table. The resulting nuclear deal and the lifting of sanctions prompted Iran's exports to soar to 2.6 million barrels a day. However, this time the sanctions will not affect Iran as much as they did in 2012. Many analysts are of the view that the decision to withdraw the US from the deal and reinstate sanctions won't deliver punishing economic pressure capable of forcing Iran to submit to Washington's policy demands. Trump hopes renewed sanctions would force Iran to submit to tougher restrictions on its nuclear program. But the impact won't be nearly



as dramatic as it was 2012, at least not immediately. Also, at least some countries, including China and India, might ignore the U.S. decision and continue buying Iranian oil.

Trump Administration officials are betting that foreign firms that have invested in Iran and buy its oil will abide by the sanctions. They will also lobby around the globe to try to pressure foreign countries into joining the United States with measures of their own. Presumably the US thinking is that the Iranian regime, once backed up against the wall, will capitulate or crumble. **This scenario is unlikely.** Not every foreign company, bank, or oil trader will be inclined to comply with U.S. sanctions, particularly if their own governments are frustrated with the U.S. re-imposition of sanctions. There is no multilateral interest now in targeting Iran with financial pressure and diplomatic isolation, unlike during the 2012 to 2015 period of most intensive global sanctions on Iran.

### Possible reaction of Europe

European allies have warned of a split with the United States over the nuclear agreement. They say that tearing it as Trump has done undermined US credibility abroad, especially as international inspectors said Iran was in compliance with the accord. Trump's decision caused a **serious rupture with European allies** already upset from the administration's steel tariffs and withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement. Britain, France, Germany, and the **European Union have made clear they would view a reimposition of oil-related sanctions as a violation of the nuclear agreement.** They have **signaled they will not pull out of the deal.** Officials also have said they will seek to protect European companies from any U.S. sanctions, using so-called blocking legislation drawn up in the 1990s.

But it's unclear if the deal can be preserved in the longer term without American support. U.S. sanctions could force European companies to choose between retaining access to the American market or the Iranian one. Most will turn away from Iran instead of risking painful U.S. penalties, meaning that Tehran will see diminishing economic returns, the main reason it signed the accord in the first place.

The Americans presently have no substantial trade with Iran, therefore, its economic sanctions will not be having much impact on Iran's economy. However, the US European allies are having trade with Iran. The Europeans desire to keep Iran's oil and gas products selling, continue sea, land, air and rail transportation relations with Tehran, maintaining effective banking transactions and protecting European investments in Iran.

### Potential Iranian Reaction

At least initially, **Iran could try to isolate the United States** by working with the other signatories to the deal to **preserve the agreement.** But Iranian President Hassan Rouhani is under political pressure to show the economic benefits of the deal, which has been questioned all along by his harder-line rivals in the regime. The country's economy remains sluggish, and a wave of foreign investment has yet to materialize, partly because Western firms have anticipated Trump shredding the deal.

If European investors flee, Iran may conclude there is no longer any benefit to remaining in the deal. The regime could then decide to start breaching the limits imposed on its uranium enrichment and other nuclear work — **effectively reviving its program.** The most drastic option would see **Iran pull out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and kick out international inspectors,** which Western intelligence agencies say have provided a crucial window into and check on Tehran's nuclear work. This would signal Iran's intent to build nuclear weapons and permit the regime to pursue weapons-grade enrichment of uranium without United Nations monitors on hand. Estimates vary, but Iran could build a bomb in about a year's time or less, based on its current stockpiles of uranium.



**Regional Implication: A more unstable Middle East**

Regional situation will probably get worse. U.S. allies—Israel and Saudi Arabia—cheered the U.S. decision to walk away from the Iran deal. But they will soon find themselves deeply disappointed. With the nuclear crisis back on the table, the international community's focus will pivot entirely to the nuclear question and away from Iran's regional behavior, just as it did for the 15 years prior to the deal. Meanwhile, Trump has talked tough about countering Iran's behavior in the region. But when it comes to action it is clear that it's not easy to get involved in a major regional confrontation with Iran or any coherent strategy for how to push back on Iranian inroads in the region. Even if one forgets about the nuclear question, Iran still has a lot of potential to exert its influence.

The Middle East appears to be on the brink of another war. Soon after the decision of pulling out US from the deal, Israel launched aerial attacks on what it alleged were Iranian militias that had fired rockets into Israel, causing Iranian casualties. Iran threatened consequences for these. Its militias and its proxy, Hezbollah, have the capability to launch thousands of rockets and short-range missiles at Israel. Moreover, **tensions in Iraq are also likely to intensify.** The US and Saudi Arabia will likely attempt to decrease Iran's influence there.

Syria is a case in point. The Israelis are increasingly worried about Iran's establishment of a permanent military presence in the country and have begun taking things into their own hands with increasingly brazen airstrikes that have killed Iranian fighters. Both sides often test each other's limits in Syria as Iran has not directly responded to Israeli strikes but has continued to push for an Assad regime offensive in southwest Syria that would bring Shiite militia fighters to Israel's border.

Iran could intensify the pressure on Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies. It can do so by supplying the Houthis in Yemen with more lethal weapons, including longer-range missiles that could credibly threaten Riyadh. It also has the potential to destabilize Shia-majority areas in Bahrain and eastern regions of Saudi Arabia.

Few analysts are of the view that Iran could go all the way to destabilize the US. For instance it can support Afghan Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan. Tehran also has historical ties with the Tajiks, Hazaras and Shias in Afghanistan, which could be activated to disrupt any semblance of stability in Afghanistan.

**Rise of Oil Prices**

Oil prices rose even before the decision came. These rose in anticipation of Trump's decision and the Venezuelan chaos. The modest supply shortfall from Iran can be easily made up by expanding Saudi and US production. However, if military actions are initiated, threatening all Gulf oil exports, prices could skyrocket to unprecedented levels, with a major dampening effect on the world economy and especially the emerging markets.

**Effect on Pakistan**

Though, Pakistan at first hardly seems to be affected, any conflict affecting Iran has spillover effects for Pakistan. Firstly, it could see a Saudi-Iran proxy War on its soil. Secondly, if Iran destabilizes Afghanistan, a political settlement in Afghanistan may become even more difficult if it becomes a theatre of US-Iranian confrontation. Third, Pakistan's economy will be negatively affected. Higher oil prices will slow Pakistan's already faltering economic growth. Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline project will not reach to its completion.

**Impact on the US**

The critics appearing on various US television channels after the announcement warned that it would also isolate the United States from its allies. Trump's announcement does fulfill a campaign promise and the ultimatum he made in January 2018. But it comes at a price to the deeper promise of the United States' willingness to resolve conflicts diplomatically and to stick to agreements it has already reached. The United States is far weaker as a result of this decision, even if the country's technical freedom of action to use sanctions and to oppose Iran has grown.